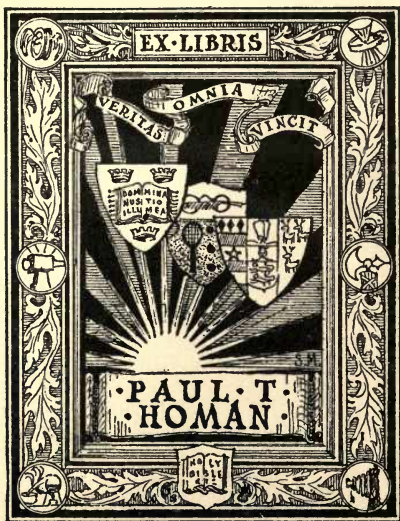


ESSAYS ON
SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION
AFTER THE WAR



Gift

P. T. Homan

Bombay, Sept. 1917

THE HOPE FOR SOCIETY



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ESSAYS ON "SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION
AFTER THE WAR," BY VARIOUS WRITERS

EDITED BY
MISS LUCY GARDNER
FOR THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
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The School in 1917 will be held at Swanwick from July 23 to July 2. Full particulars may be had from the Hon. Secretary, Miss Lucy Gardner, 92, St. George's Square, London, S.W.



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THE HOPE FOR SOCIETY

BY THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

A RATHER malevolent friend who looked at his list said that he supposed this subject was given to me as a tonic for myself, because he was pleased to say that I was—well, to put it mildly—not given to an undue optimism, and I think that the best sermons a man preaches are those that he does preach against himself; but truly I am not conscious of preaching to myself to-night, but rather simply of putting into words what through all the period of the war I have been feeling, viz :—that black as the times are and racked as our feelings are, I cannot doubt that it is easier than it was before the war to feel the dawning of a new hope and the dwindling of obstacles which we had hardly expected to see dwindling in our time. When I look down at the list of subjects which are to occupy you, Trade Union Regulations, The Use of Income, The Position of Women, The Agricultural Side of English Life, The Land Question, Drink Traffic, Social Relations, I say to myself these are old topics. We and the like of us have been at these topics year after year, knocking our heads against them, hearing all that has to be said one way and another way. Why are we talking about them to-night or this week over again? And I fancy the answer to that is because there is no

one of these old problems which has not by the events of the last two years and what those events have brought and still more what they threaten to bring, there is not one of these old questions that has not been set for all of us in a quite new and sometimes a startlingly new light. I fancy that every one of us can say this. And that is why we do not feel as we approach our programme as if it were a wellworn programme; it is a quite new programme; the topics are the same but the circumstances and the conditions have changed to an extent that two years ago we could not have conceived to be possible.

Well, what was our old experience with regard to these topics? We were conscious how desperately wrong the constitution of society was. We had vaguely before our minds the lines of advance. We did in certain respects feel the reality of the problems, but yet, on the whole, our experience was that we were continually finding ourselves up against great interests, political, social, economic, great interests, things which had money and power in them, and that we saw no way to carry fortresses, and that though it was only the minority of people who could be said to be having the best of the time that was, though the interests consisted only of a few people compared with the multitudes, yet that on the other hand in the multitudes, who you would have supposed had everything to gain and nothing to lose by change, even in the multitudes there was astonishingly little driving power; and what I want to say is that I think there has been in the last two years to a quite surprising extent a weak-

ening of the interests and a strengthening of the driving power. That is why I say it is easy to hope. The old experience! Go back on that. I fancy that it is represented for ever to our imaginations by what we read in the Gospels. Every year of struggle after social reform, after the promotion of the Kingdom of God, brings you back to that. The picture in the Gospel has something everlastingly true. There you have Our Lord Jesus Christ Who rides out because of the word of truth, and meekness, and righteousness, a great warrior, and He comes up against the great interests. That is what makes the thrilling interest of the drama, there as it is unfolded in those Gospels. He comes up against the religious, the ecclesiastical interest, the Scribes and Pharisees. It is a tremendous claim that He makes upon them, the claim that they who are the authorised exponents and representatives of the true religion in the midst of the people of God, shall be content to be told by one who in their eyes is the merest of layman that they are to think over again about the real meaning of their religion, over again from the very beginning. It is a tremendous claim to make upon people who stand in that position—the professors and officers of the established religion.

I am afraid that there is hardly an instance in the history of mankind in which the ecclesiastical interest, the religious interest, has stood that test and been equal to that claim—has had the grace to respond to it by anything that you could call a thorough and wholehearted willingness to learn. And we understand the situation thoroughly, all the natural human

forces and motives which banded them together to say that this voice must be silenced; we understand it too well. And the political interest. They were set there to maintain the balance of a delicate political situation, those Sadducean families there in Jerusalem, and they knew, or they thought they knew, that the very mention of the kingdom of Israel again, any talk about the kingdom coming, would have troubled the situation and the Romans would have come and taken away their place and nation. It is so intelligible I feel it constantly that it would not be at all difficult to write the leading articles in the *Daily Sadducee* or the *Weekly Pharisee*. And with the political interest was closely allied the financial interest. Jerusalem was a place like Benares of India, which lived wholly on pilgrimages. The pilgrims came to make sacrifice and they must buy their sacrifices, and to buy them they must change their money from the current money into the Hebrew money. It was an extraordinarily lucrative business. And if St. John is right, if the fourth Gospel is right in telling us that Our Lord really cleansed the Temple at the beginning of His ministry rather than the end of it—and I think that where St. John seems deliberately to correct the synoptic narrative he corrects it rightly—if it was at the beginning rather than at the end, then we understand the significance of this action better. We understand now that with the political interest there allied itself the financial interest. Well, I hope you will not say that I have taken you away from the subject which has brought us here to-night if I ask you to see how in

that drama of Our Lord's life you get just the experiences which have been,—through the years that have passed, the experience of all of us in our manner, in our measure. He came up against the great interests, ecclesiastical, financial, political, and the great interests behaved as great interests always behave; they refused to ask any questions; they said we stand for this, or this, or this, these are the principles for which we stand. So it was, they stopped their ears, they refused to hearken. They would not ask ultimate questions. They set themselves to crush out that troublesome and disturbing voice. But meanwhile what had happened to the common people who had heard Him gladly? One so wholly full of love and with a power equal to His love, One Whose pity was a pity that had power in it, He could not but enlist the sympathies and enthusiasm of the common people. Why did they fail Him so?

Well, it is the old story. It was because they found it was something much deeper than political revolution that was being asked of them, even a change of character and temper and outlook, something deep and personal, penetrating to the very roots of their characters and being, that was being asked of them, and that was too much except for a very few. So that in those Gospels the figures stand there for all time with everlasting significance. You get there the constant experience of anyone who seeks the cause of the Kingdom in the world. And I suppose it is true that we found great occasion for discouragement, and we felt it—the banding together of the great interests

and then the extraordinary absence of anything like adequate driving power. It was pitiable to walk about the villages and to feel that the interests stood in the way of anything like thorough reform; and then to feel even more pitiable on the other side the almost total absence of driving power in the people who were suffering most and had most to gain from any change but whose feelings were only feelings of despair and cynicism, altogether without courage and without driving power. Well, I fancy that even before the war there was a quickened hope, there were certain changes in the situation which seemed to us to be real. I mean that there was before the war an intensifying of the feeling that change was imminent, and that it was impossible to ignore the acuteness of the demands.

Also I think there was a deepening of human feeling. From my own point of view there was nothing ever more important than to emphasise that the real demand of Labour was not to be expressed in terms of wages but in terms of the demand to be treated as persons, not as hands or instruments of production. And I used to think three years ago that that point of view was really beginning to get into the minds of the classes who were not themselves wage earners. Also I used to think that the substitution of what I suppose I am right in calling group socialism for the older kind of socialism meant a great advance in intelligibility, and a substantial setting right of what had been wrong in the expression of the general deeper social hope,—socialism in the wider sense. I fancy that in the minds of a great many people there was an increasing dread

of the dominance of the State—dread based on legitimate causes—an increasing sense of the vacuousness of a world in which nothing should intervene between the State and the individual; and human life should seem to be represented as a dealing of the State with the individual and the individual with the State; and I fancy that it was a great gain that the setting of that picture was altered and we were introduced rather to the idea of an infinite number of corporations, each to be entrusted with a large measure of responsibility in its own sphere and all leading up to the great and dominant mastery of the State, not jealous of but encouraging a multitude of organisations within organisation, of corporations within its own great society, each of them entrusted with responsibility, each of them real corporations. I think there was a great gain; and I suppose that in the progress of political thought that gain is becoming permanent. I think it infinitely more human and infinitely more appealing; and that it removes some of the terrors and risks which belonged to the older conception, not, I dare say, as imaged by the greatest who constructed it, but as it appeared in popular exposition.

Still the period before the war was very alarming. We were threatened with tremendous wars of another kind, wars of unparalleled magnitude and depth, a sex war, a Capital and Labour war, an Ireland and England war. These were prospects grim and terrible enough to stagger anyone's imagination—though nothing so horrible as what has been actually happening these last two years I suppose did we anticipate.

But I do seem to feel the terror of this world judgment is pregnant, like other Divine judgments, with a tremendous deepening of hope and that in ways that are most intelligible to us : because no human being who tries to think, who is willing to think, can fail to see that there has been a collapse, and that on the largest scale and in the most startling form, of a civilisation based upon a wrong basis.

Of course movements which are in their nature world movements are on so large a scale that we are very apt only to see some little corner in which we are interested in the more or less narrow circle in which we move. We had been for many years past disgusted with the principle of selfishness as a basis for life : and there had been a great reaction from the optimistic selfishness, proud of itself, which used to flaunt itself in early Victorian days ; but at the same time we had made very little way in actually combating the tendencies of society. Selfishness is rarely, perhaps never, an absolutely individual thing. I think that one of the most illuminating phrases of the French was that phrase about the family as being ' selfishness à deux ou trois.' At any rate it serves to remind us that the self is never quite isolated. But none the less anything which fails to have regard for the general interest is selfishness, and there is no question that the whole of our conceptions of civilisation, the fabric of our civilisation, national, international, commercial and to a very large extent religious and almost more than all educational, had been built up on a basis of selfishness and it has collapsed. I do not think

that in our memories we ever had a time when people were as a consequence so openminded. It is an immense ground of hope. I think there is, very much more widely than is thought by some people, the sense that we needed a Divine judgment, and that in the right sense—not as something arbitrary, a sort of thunderbolt from heaven, quite inexplicable to us, because we are wicked—but in the much deeper and much more profitable sense of the working out of the inevitable consequence of what we had been doing and being.

Men must see that this horrible war, and the wars no less horrible with which we were threatened before the war, sprang as inevitable consequences out of those root principles on which we had tried to construct a civilisation. And if men once get to see that, is there any limit to the hope that we may entertain that they will turn, that they must turn, in the right direction, to understand how you are to reconstruct the fabric of society, if in the mercy of God we have the opportunity, so that it shall not be liable afresh in a few years to the same horrible collapse? There is a hope that is rooted in despair. I think that is the kind of hope that is dawning on the minds of men now very widely. I do not know whether it is your experience. As I said at the beginning I believe I am not given the credit of being unduly optimistic, but I must say that I am sure that in the rank and file of the Church of England, which I think is as conservative an institution as you will find, an institution to which Our Lord's words (terrible words, I think, in their context) would apply, "No man

having drunk old wine desireth new: for he saith, the old is good,"—well, I am quite sure that in the rank and file of the Church of England as you get it in representative assemblies, Rural Decanal Conferences, places of that kind, Diocesan Committees, there is a very great change. I am sure of it. I have heard things within the last few months applauded with enthusiasm which I feel quite certain would have been received in chilly silence a year or two ago; I am sure of it, and that I cannot but feel means a great deal. It means a confession in the minds of those not at all willing to confess it, that the old thing which they thought they were going to die to maintain or going to maintain till they died, has collapsed and that if it can be rebuilt it has got to be rebuilt on a wholly different basis.

Then, of course, it is quite impossible to exaggerate the deepening of the idea and sense and practice of service. In all sorts of classes men are realising that membership means service, and that so widely and so deeply and with such energy, that I do feel quite sure that they will not forget it. I am not one of those people who can lightly or easily breathe the hopeful words "after the war." It seems to me we see so little yet that warrants us talking about "after the war" that I do not even like to utter the words. But I do not believe that the end of the war, when it comes, however much relief it will bring, can fail to be accompanied with such strenuous and searching requirements as will make even the strain of the war seem a comparatively light thing. Then I entertain the hope

that this great deepening of the sense of service, coupled with this positive transformation in openness of mind which is coming upon people of all classes and sorts, I feel sure that this must be going to give us a vast opportunity, the like of which we never anticipated. Of course I do not want you to think me silly. I mean I see quite well the black side of the picture. There are things with regard to this war which I feel bound to look upon with unmitigated dread. I do not want now to dwell on some of its worst features, and of course I know all about the danger of reaction of which history has been so full, and all that comes of exhausted forces, I am quite prepared for very bad moments and for the strengthening of a great deal of evil, but I am also prepared—more than prepared, confident—to find there is working in the country the leaven of a tremendous change of spirit. That blank, stupid conservatism—"no man having drunk old wine desireth new"—I fancy is really broken, and that a really new sense of service is dawning in all directions and a new joy of service. And out of this I seem to see the elements of a great hope, a great and deep hope.

There is one other point which I want to talk about a little, but as to which I do not feel so sure. I think it is that I may be unduly impressed by experiences that are rather personal and sectional. Still, I suppose it is the case that before the war the widespread dissatisfaction with education was broadly taking this shape: we were seeing that our mistake had been that we had been exaggerating what the

schools can do without the backing of the home. We have been putting too much on the schools. We have been trying to make the schoolmasters and mistresses professional parents. We have been letting the parents wash their hands of their responsibilities. But now we are finding what a desperate failure that is, because after all it is the home which is dominant, and these boys and girls so elaborately trained, so smart, so intelligent, so lively, when they go out of school at fourteen (or alas ! earlier) after about two years have been sucked back again irresistibly into the old atmosphere of the home, so that all the superficial polish of the school vanishes with the things they learnt by rote which abode only on the very surface of their memory and their being, while their old aboriginal habits were there underneath waiting like a dragon to swallow up all this little freshness which had been put in as colouring on the top, and in about two or three years they are where their parents have been.

The great mistake had been not in believing too much in education, but believing too much in education divorced from the home. It is no good this education, unless with the education goes a reforming and renewing of the home. And, of course, that consideration throws you back upon a great number of large social problems about wages, about motherhood, about housing in town and in country. Well, this is the point that I am coming to :—Of course a great number of the best women have been desperately disappointed and anxious with regard to the way in which, in our

towns and our villages where the soldiers were, the girls have shown up badly on the whole—in some places distressingly badly—all that side by side with a great deal of most magnificent self-sacrifice on the part of the women. Still, on the whole there has been that experience, and the mothers have laughed in our faces whenever we have said that they ought to have some control over their girls at fourteen. They have simply said “Lor’,” as if the idea was unaccountable and unheard of. I think there has been brought home to people with a new force, and in a new way, a sense of the depth of the reconstruction which is necessary in the basis of the home, and that, I am sure, is a most necessary feature in any real and vital reform. I am so sure that that is true, and that the reformers who have ignored it have been building on sand. It seems to me that the minds of people of all kinds, and along all sorts of channels, are coming back to that true conclusion.

Well, it is in these sort of ways, amidst so much that is distressing, amidst such a rending of our hearts that it is a terrible thing to get up morning by morning and feel the horrible weight settling down upon us—still in spite of all this, I think there is certainly, certainly there is in my mind, a far deeper, more confident hopefulness than there was two years ago, a sense which I cannot believe to be an illusion, that there is a new openness of mind among us, a new readiness for service, and a new turning of the forces of reform along the channels which are real and vital. We believe in God, and when we believe in God we must believe in judgment, but we must believe

also that the judgments which come are not the exhibitions of empty power to chastise, but are the instrument of divine education by which we, through very dark and deep places, are still being led, and led, not as individuals, but as societies, on towards the great goal which is worth contending for. The great thing in being a Christian is that it gives you security at the bottom and at the end, at the bottom because there is God and God is love, and at the end because through all the terrible catastrophes and judgments there is the assurance of the Kingdom.¹

¹ This address has been reproduced from notes taken at the time of delivery, and there was no opportunity for thorough revision.

INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS AFTER THE WAR¹

BY J. A. HOBSON

I

THE experience of War-time has brought into clearer light many features of our industrial and commercial system. It has tested at many points the structure of national and international trade and finance, and has revealed some new possibilities of economic development.

The most imposing revelation from the experience of British industry during the war has been its quantitative and qualitative adaptability to sudden new demands. After two years, during which more than four million men, or nearly one-third of the adult able-bodied male population, had been drafted into the fighting services, while something like two millions more had been added for the special requirements of the munitions trades, the ordinary trades of the country were still able to be carried on so as to supply the material requisites of life for the remaining civil population upon a level not appreciably lower than before the war.

¹ This paper forms a portion of a supplementary Chapter added by Mr. Hobson to the new edition (1916) of his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, and is the copyright of the publishers of that work.

It is true that larger supplies than usual were imported to supplement our internal production. But when freights and other special costs are taken into account, it is probable that the actual quantity of imported foods and materials available for civilian use and consumption was not much above the normal. It is clear that the nation has been able to draw upon internal reserves of productive power much greater than would hitherto have been believed to exist. The production of material wealth as a whole (inclusive of munitions and other material war requisites) did not appear to have been diminished by the withdrawal of four million men.

How has this been possible? Well, in the first place, not more than half this supply of men has been taken out of labour employed in the direct production of material goods. Probably nearly a half of the four millions has been taken from the leisured, the student, and the employing classes, the professional, distributive, and transport occupations, domestic and other personal services. Some half a million represent the emigration suspended during the war. Some of the luxury trades and recreations, especially those catering for the needs of the well-to-do male, have fallen into abeyance. But the fundamental material industries have been reinforced from various sources, so that their aggregate output has not much diminished. The unemployed margin has been absorbed, retired workers have come back to work, children and young persons have been taken from education into industry, great numbers of women have been drawn into manu-

facture, commerce and agriculture, a fuller week is worked, with much overtime and even Sunday labour, more labour-saving machines have been introduced, and all machinery has been speeded up, "dilution" has produced a more effective division of labour, and a suspension of trade-union rules has given more elasticity and productivity to labour. While, therefore, the distributive and other services have been much let down, the "productive" have been well maintained.

This revelation of the amount of "slack" or reserve energy in our economic society will have important effects upon the reconstruction of industry after the war. The need for improved and enlarged production, in order to increase the size of the real income of the nation, will assume great urgency. The repair of the let-down or damaged fabric of industry, the provision of new capital for fresh industrial ventures to meet the changed condition of foreign trade, and to bring our plant up to date, the demands of the immense taxation which war will leave behind, the high rate of interest that must prevail—these things will make it impossible to retain the pre-war level of real wages and standard of comfort, unless the aggregate product is considerably increased. The war experience will have disclosed some of the sources out of which this increased productivity can be got. Fuller employment, better and quicker work, larger and freer employment of women, better organisation of labour in the factory and workshop, more energy and enterprise on the part of managers and employers, better pro-

vision of scientific and technical instruction, greater willingness to apply science to industry on the part of business men, and last, not least, better organisation of credit and general finance—these are the more obvious desiderata for an increased national output.

Some of the problems they involve press especially on Labour, some upon the efficiency of the employing and directing classes, others, again, upon State organisation and assistance.

Before the war these issues had been ripening. The more rapid economic development of Germany and the United States, in particular, had brought severe strictures upon the slowness of our business classes to avail themselves of the great contributions of chemistry and physics, "scientific management," and organised finance, to modern industry and commerce. The detailed evidence of our Census of Production had shown that our output of wealth was not adequate to provide a satisfactory standard of comfort for our whole population, even if it were better distributed. Many social reformers were profoundly impressed by this evidence of national poverty, and were brought to a clear recognition of the close correlation of the problems of increased production, more equitable distribution, and improved consumption of wealth.

II

After the war, the task of economic reconstruction will compel the adoption of bolder experiments both in public and private enterprise than had hitherto been possible. To realise the enlarged productivity,

more pacific co-operation between Capital and Labour, employer and employed, is a first essential. The immediate peril of an economic situation in which labour seems liable to a sudden fall of wage from the artificially inflated war level, will evoke conscious efforts to find ways of harmonising the interests of Capital and Labour. The issue is one of devising adequate and reliable stimuli to draw from the workers a larger and more regular output of productive energy, a greater willingness to adopt and apply new mechanical and business methods, and, in general, to co-operate more effectively with the other factors of production. But, in order thus to get Labour to realise its community of interest with Capital, that community itself must be established on a firmer footing. Labour must be given a more definite "interest" in the business and in its conduct, so far as matters directly affecting labour are involved. Hitherto the business has "belonged to" the persons who owned the capital, it has been exclusively their property. The "interest" of any worker in it has been terminable by a week's notice, or less. Except so far as grudging concessions have been made to trade-union pressure, the worker has had no voice in regulating the conditions of labour in the factory, mine, mill or farm. Some more solid property in and control of the business must be secured for the workers in it.

How to make that property and control consistent with the maintenance of the supremacy of the employer in the general conduct of the business, its organisation as a technical instrument, the deter-

mination of the lines and methods of production and the buying and selling processes, will be the great problem of business reconstruction. But closely related to it will be the problem of securing to the workers a definite pecuniary interest in the success of the business as a whole. The wage system cannot be displaced. The workers cannot be called upon to share fully in the risks and possible losses which the owners of the capital undertake. For no chances of participation in profits, however high, could secure the workers against the risks of periods of "working at a loss." But the wage system could be supplemented and strengthened by some participation in the gains, applied so as to stimulate the greater efficiency of labour which should tend to create gains.

The evident defects which have caused the failure of most profit-sharing schemes should be studied, and remedies should be sought for them. For if Capital and Labour are to be brought into conscious harmony within the business, they must be got to realise that they stand to gain by effective co-operation. If the labourers, through their accredited representatives, had some better understanding of the nature and methods of the business, and of the factors contributing to success or failure, had some control over the conditions of working and some definite interest in putting out the largest and best product compatible with reasonable considerations of their health and safety, the output of industry would, undoubtedly, be greatly increased, and its distribution would be more socially beneficial.

But in all reform of business-structure there is a third factor, the interests of which must be brought into harmony with those of Capital and Labour, namely, the Market, the Consumer. In freely competitive industry, the competition of rival businesses is considered to furnish a sufficient guarantee for the consumer's interest. But over a very large part of the fields of industry and commerce combination has displaced competition, so far as the relations of producer with consumer are concerned. From top to bottom, from bank insurance and shipping rates to retail prices of milk and bread, the consumer's interests are jeopardised by more or less tight, widespread, and continuous arrangements between the members of a trade. The experience of this war will have disclosed many conspicuous instances of this organised oppression of the consumer.

The State, as representing the Consumer, has, in some cases, been forced, formally or informally, to intervene, even in this country, for limitation of prices. In Germany and other belligerent countries, large experiments in regulation of selling prices have been made. Though war conditions have exasperated these abuses, it is idle to suppose that Capital and Labour, in businesses and in trades, can be left to harmonise their interests without any regard to the effect of their harmonised interests upon the consumer. For, if effective arrangements are made, enabling Capital and Labour to work amicably together and to enlarge the output, it is pretty certain that the trade, and not the single business, must, in many instances,

become the area of harmony. Even if certain individual and more adventurous businesses took the lead, success in the new experiment would bring into line other businesses, and trade agreements about conditions of labour and participation in profits would be accompanied by trade agreements as to selling prices. In other words, there would be a great development of the Combine as a selling syndicate, or, at least, as a price-regulating association. The further effect of such a development might even be to reverse the first impulse towards unrestricted output. In such an industry as the South Wales Coal Mines, what is to prevent Capital and Labour from finding their best community of interest in a regulated output and a high selling price throughout the trade? So long as the consuming public is left wholly unrepresented in the conduct of industry this risk will always remain.

III

This opens up the wider issue of the new attitude of the State towards industry. The emergencies of the war have compelled the Government to interfere in various ways with the operations of the private business world, sometimes to aid and supplement private businesses, sometimes to regulate and restrain them, sometimes to supersede their private management. Nobody can suppose that the whole of this State action will simply evaporate after the war is over. The railways, which have passed into a single control and have had their ordinary competition for profit suspended for several years, will not be likely to revert

to the pre-war conditions. Nationalisation, already on its way, will probably become an early achievement, a great mass of Capital and Labour thus passing from private into public employment. The great new munition works established and operated by the State, will open up the wide question of the relation of the Government, not only towards the armament firms but towards the whole ship-building and engineering businesses which, for the duration of the war, have been "controlled firms." Not only commercial but grave political considerations will enter here. Can these private firms be allowed once more to begin supplying ships, guns and ammunition to foreign nations as before? Can they be allowed to enter into business arrangements with foreign firms and to set up branches in foreign lands? Must they not be kept under such control as will secure their productive services exclusively for the requirements of this country? If so, must not the regulation of the prices of the goods they sell be accompanied by security against strikes or lockouts and other Labour troubles? These halfway houses between complete nationalisation and private industry will probably be sought.

The same tendency to press larger public regulation upon industry will apply to certain other fundamental trades, such as mining, shipping, and perhaps, chemicals. The pressure towards such public control will doubtless vary with the greater or less danger of the international situation. If, as is likely, the chief nations continue to make great armed preparations and to threaten or to fear a fresh outbreak of hostilities,

there will be a very strong tendency to keep in being the war control already established, and probably to extend it to mining and certain so-called "key industries."

Although it is manifestly impossible to make the United Kingdom or even the Empire commercially self-supporting for the essentials of life and of defence, steps could be taken to produce and store large supplies of certain essential products in which the experience of war shows we are liable to shortage. If the European governments are unable to build up international arrangements which furnish any prospect of durable peace, the armed nationalism into which our people, as others, must retire, will compel the subsidisation and probably the nationalisation of a number of these "key industries."

IV

The special consideration of the state of the Labour market and of wage-conditions after the war is likely to lead to a large and a rapid advance of the State in two directions in which experiments were established before the war, viz., Trade Boards for determining minimum wage rates and other conditions of labour, and Unemployed Insurance.

The former institution, established to deal with certain definitely "sweated" trades,¹ may well be

¹ Regulations under the Board of Trade Acts, 1909, were issued for the establishment of Boards in the chain-trade in 1909, and in the paper-box trade of Great Britain, the lace-finishing trade, the tailoring trade of Great Britain, the paper-box trade of Ireland and the tailoring trade of Ireland in 1910.

"It is estimated that these six Boards in the four originally

extended to some larger national industries where wages are low or are liable to dangerous reductions. The experiment in fixing wage-rates in coal-mining, though not precisely on all fours with the Trade Board method, indicates the new trend of public interference with what was once considered "the natural law" of wages. In agriculture, proposals were already being canvassed before the war for fixing district minimum wages. The disorganised condition of most labour markets when the disbanded soldiers flow back and the war contracts cease, will probably compel the Government to intervene to stop the "natural" effect of a huge temporary over-supply of labour.

The extension of the Unemployed Insurance provisions to the trades specially liable to post-war collapse will furnish some mitigation of the trouble. The need for dealing with the Labour situation after the war will bring the State into an economic promin-

scheduled trades cover some 200,000 workers, of whom about 70 per cent. are women."

In 1913 the Act's operation was extended to cover (1) Sugar confectionery and food preserving, (2) Shirt-making, (3) Hollow-ware making, (4) Linen and cotton embroidery, (5) Certain operations in steam laundries.

From reports already issued, "It is clear that a legal minimum wage can be fixed without causing serious inconvenience either to employers or to workers in low-paid trades. It has appeared that it is impossible to help the lowest grade of sweated workers without incidentally also increasing by direct interference the wages of a slightly better but still badly paid class. In fact the Trade Boards have done as much for this class as for the lowest grade of sweated persons. They have, further, been of assistance to men as well as to women, and they have directly or indirectly dealt with the question of the hours of labour and of the employment and training of juveniles."—Mr. Frederic Keeling, in *The Economic Journal*, March, 1914.

ence it has never occupied before. Not only will it be called upon to secure minimum wages and to make provision against unemployment. It will probably be compelled to set on foot large public "relief" works, in order to ease the period of reabsorption of the soldiery and the restoration of disturbed industries into the pre-war conditions.

V

The attitude of the State towards banking and the financial system will be a subject of serious consideration. Here again, the experience of war has made important discoveries. The first is the revelation of the great State reserve of "credit" at the beginning of the war. At a time when the whole system of banking and finance was in imminent danger of collapsing, the Government pumped into its perishing sinews a great flow of public credit. This achievement showed, first, that bank currency, the money which conducts the great majority of business transactions, is inadequate to a great sudden emergency; secondly, that public credit, by the issue of public notes and public guarantees of bank operations, is adequate to such an emergency. It is not unnatural that the question should be raised: "Why should not this great national fund of public credit, resting as it must, upon the ultimate power of the State to commandeer by taxation or forced levy the whole wealth of the nation, be made available for the normal purposes of business life instead of being kept in the background for rare use in an extreme crisis?" "Is it reasonable

or safe," others ask, "that private profiteering companies, like our banks, should know that they are able in an extremity, whether caused by public policy or business misadventure, to summon the resources of the State to save them from disaster?"

The knowledge that the banks have been enabled by this public aid to enjoy a period of great prosperity and high profits during war-time has been a further stimulus of criticism.

The failure of our joint stock and private banks to supply on reasonable terms, or at all, the credit or currency required for certain needs of the trading community is another. Small traders and manufacturers complain that the mechanical administration of the great banks denies them the credit aid which they once got from the smaller local banks. Land reformers, interested in farmers' co-operation and small holdings, want new credit institutions to furnish the financial aid which the banks refuse. Still more important is the new demand for some large financial organisation to undertake the risks attending the floating and financing of new large industrial and trading ventures, especially in colonial and foreign trade.

This work our banks have declined to do, refusing to immobilise so large a proportion of their assets. For these several departments of finance, as also for the more profitable employment of the small savings which have flowed into the Post Office Savings Bank, a thorough overhauling of our public and private machinery of money is required. A demand

will certainly formulate itself for the State to resume to a large extent the monopoly of currency which it once enjoyed and which has been allowed to pass out of its control and to become the basis of a lucrative private trade. The cheque has become to a larger and larger extent the form of money in actual use, and the selling of the right to draw cheques is the highly profitable function of joint stock and private banks. The "security" upon which the banks build the great fabric of credit against which cheques are drawn, is furnished to a small and a diminishing extent by funds subscribed and paid by shareholders in the banks, and to a large and increasing extent by the very customers who buy and pay for the credit which banks sell, and by the State which makes it understood that, in the last resort, it will place the credit of the State behind the joint stock banks. No other business is enabled and allowed thus to trade for private profit with the capital of other persons and of the State. It is only the delicacy and intricacy of the financial system and the general ignorance regarding its structure and operations that have enabled this singularly improvident policy to continue. Credit bears to the business life much the same relation as do roads, both being essentially instruments for the movement and transfer of wealth. The modern railroad is everywhere passing under the direct control of the State, as the national highway. The growth of National Banks, first for co-operation with and co-ordination of the resources of banking companies, afterwards for their displacement, seems an equally inevitable pro-

cess. The dangerously rapid fluctuations of prices, in their bearing upon employment and the livelihood of the workers, must more and more compel Government to grapple with the problem of money. To leave entirely to private business enterprise the production and the supply of money, with occasional inroads of State intervention at moments of peril, is a course as indefensible in reason as it is injurious in practice.

VI

Another heavy intrusion of the State into the economic system resulting from the war will be the greatly increased taxation which must follow. With the exception of Great Britain, virtually no attempt has been made by belligerent governments to raise any considerable contribution towards the costs of war out of current income by taxation. Loans of various forms, with much accompanying inflation, have been the usual methods. Even in Great Britain, not more than one-fifth of the war-bill of the opening two years was raised by increased taxation. The result will be that the war will leave in every country a large new "rentier" class. Even if the war concludes in the present fiscal year, the lasting addition to the annual body of taxation for providing interest and sinking fund of the war borrowings, with the addition of war pensions, is pretty certain to exceed 150 millions, and will more likely approach 200 millions. In France and Germany the position will be worse.

This will mean for every nation that the State must plunge its hand into the current output of annual

national wealth and hand over a large amount, in this country not far short of a tithe, to a comparatively small body of well-to-do investors, who will perform no current service in return, not even the service of placing land or productive capital for co-operation with labour in producing wealth. The war debts will be a heavy dead weight upon current industry, a proportionate diminution of the rewards of active capital and labour. Falling heaviest at a time when, in each country, industry and commerce are struggling to re-establish themselves and recover from the blows of war, it will cause grave discontent. In every nation the fiscal policy will assume a greater importance than ever before. The State will have to tap new sources of income and to work out new policies for increasing the national productiveness in order to take its share of the increased wealth.

VII

The war is likely to have a lasting influence in stimulating that movement for the revival of agriculture and other rural industries which had in recent years gained much strength. Political and military considerations will be powerful auxiliaries to reforms which seek to put an increasing proportion of our people "on the land" and to raise a larger proportion of our food within our country. The demand for an outdoor active life under conditions of freedom and decent remuneration will be reinforced by the invitation to colonial life as an alternative. Before the war the establishment of small holdings by voluntary or

compulsory arrangements was going on at a moderate pace, and a great land campaign was afoot for applying the wage-board system to agricultural labour, so as to raise wages to a level of economic efficiency, and for building upon a large scale labourers' cottages free from the control of landlord or farmer. Schemes for co-operation in various agricultural processes and in marketing, and the establishment of local credit associations, needed to put small farmers on a sound business footing, were actively promoted. Agricultural education was spreading, and new road and railway facilities were beginning to be provided.

The State was being urged to bring compulsory power to bear upon the more conservative and obstructive owners and farmers, to undertake new experiments in the direction of afforestation, reclamation and light transport, and to give financial and other encouragement to various associations for rural industries. Country life was to be made more prosperous and more attractive; agriculture to be set upon a more scientific and a more business-like footing.

The war will have given greater urgency to this movement, both on its economic and its social side. The discontent with ordinary conditions of the rural labourer's life and wages will be greatly stimulated by the war experiences. The movement for securing district minimum wages by public intervention will be irresistible. But the parts of the programme involving heavy State subventions will necessarily be impeded by the need of public economy. It seems unlikely therefore that the State will embark on any consider-

able schemes for acquiring land, erecting cottages, improving communications, or supporting local credit associations at a time when the strain of taxation will be felt more severely than ever before.

VIII

But the financial condition of the State, as well as the whole industrial and commercial condition of the nation, after peace is concluded, must hinge upon the nature of the settlement and the political relations established between the constituent States of the world. If the peace is not of such a kind as to afford reasonable security against the outbreak of another war, the political and military situation will involve important economic consequences. In the first place it will set back the tide of economic internationalism, restricting the flows of foreign trade and of foreign investments. Political and military considerations will impel each nation to endeavour to retain within its own borders those industries which will furnish a sufficient supply of all essentials of war and peace and to supplement its deficiencies from countries bound to it by easy access and reliable bonds of friendship or of material interest. Whether the world be thrown back upon wholly independent States, trusting solely and primarily to their own resources for survival and power in a dangerous world, or, as seems more likely, there issues a new grouping of States in separate and hostile alliances, scheming for political and economic power and attachments among the uncommitted countries, either result would involve large restraints

upon freedom of commerce and of the movements of Capital and Labour which have been playing so large a part in bringing the whole habitable world into a single economic system. The perils of such a situation will drive every State towards a closer national economy.

Great Britain, whose economic cosmopolitanism had gone farthest, would be driven to more rapid and rigorous changes than any of the other Powers. Her greater dependence upon overseas supplies of foods and other necessities, coupled with a recognition that no predominance in the size of a navy could in modern warfare furnish complete security, would drive her along that road of economic self-dependence which the protectionist-militarist countries of the Continent have more or less consistently and consciously taken. We should be driven to strenuous efforts by tariffs, bounties, and other incentives, to improve our agriculture so as to increase our domestic food supplies and to retain within our borders the manufactures required to supply our armaments and the necessities of civil life. This disposition of our natural and human resources would be the first function of the State, which would set itself to encourage and to regulate the economic activities of our population to this end. As it would stimulate and encourage certain activities and employments, it would depress and discourage others. It would, for example, conserve for our national use the coal which has played so important a part in our foreign trade and would probably restrict the sale abroad of ships

and of certain classes of machinery. The export of capital would probably be kept under close supervision, its flows being directed by imperial and other political considerations.

Since no measures of merely "national economy" could succeed in so reversing the tendencies of the past as to make Great Britain nearly self-sufficing, special efforts would be made to supplement her deficiencies by supplies drawn exclusively from the Empire and from reliable Allies. Hence, a series of proposals for binding together first the parts of the Empire, secondly the countries of the Alliance, by preferential tariffs, navigation laws and financial arrangements. A similar movement is on foot among the Central Powers to bring into being an economic middle Europe, designed primarily to secure for Germany the more complete economic self-sufficiency required for the contingencies of war.

If Europe after the war thus breaks back into two political and economic systems, based on a feeling of military insecurity, the stress of the situation will be upon national, or perhaps in our case, imperial self-sufficiency. The public activity of the State, and of such new imperial governmental institutions as can be improvised, will be thrown into the task of a finance, a commerce, and a direction of productive resources, which will make the British Empire strong for defence. This will most likely be compassed by a strong national and imperial bureaucracy, working on German lines, established and endowed with power by legislation passed under emergency conditions in which the repre-

sentatives of the populace will exercise no real voice or choice.

But whether the main stress for Britain be upon national or imperial organisation, the economic transformations must be greater here than in any of the other countries. For not only would the reversal of internationalism produce greater disturbances in our manufactures, commerce, shipping, and finance than in the case of any other country. It would involve greater expenses, both in the way of damage to the national resources and of increased public expenditure. The contraction of our free trade and investments throughout the world would not only reduce our commercial profits but would be attended by a shrinkage of our world control of shipping and finance and of the large direct and indirect gains accruing to our nation therefrom. The national or imperial economy which would impose these sacrifices will not be arguable on any other ground than that laid down by Adam Smith in his famous declaration that "defence is much more important than opulence." The restrictions of a national or imperial economy would undoubtedly be represented in a diminished volume of national and imperial wealth. But of that diminished volume a larger quantity than formerly would be required and taken for the defensive services. For in the dangerous world which is contemplated we should have to add to the supremacy of a navy (which will then be called upon to take into account the new rising naval power of America) an army maintained upon a Continental scale. Such a sacrifice of opulence would not, how-

ever, afford security. It would only mitigate the immediate insecurity, and help to preserve the balance of power which postpones while it ensures a future war.

This situation for the industrial world would be, of course, eminently unfavourable to economic progress. Industry and commerce would be consciously subjected everywhere to political and military motives, and such scientific and technical developments as took place would everywhere be directed more by military than by economic utility. The trend of thought and valuation in such a world would be hostile to free processes of human co-operation. Nor is that all. The autocratic and protective functions exercised by the State would inevitably be exploited by organised business interests to build up monopolies and to secure profitable dips into the public purse. The cry for economic self-sufficiency always means rising rents and high profits for protected trades with consequent depression in real wages.

IX

The only escape from the costs and perils of economic nationalism is by a fuller measure of economic internationalism, secured by improved political arrangements between the Powers. Underneath the racial, national and sentimental grievances which have figured in the forefront of the stage of history as causes of war, the struggles of trading, manufacturing and financial groups, using the "foreign policy" of their respective governments to push their private

profitable interests, are easily discernible. Look behind the recent diplomacy in all the recent danger zones, Egypt, Persia, Transvaal, Tripoli, Morocco, China, the Balkans, the real grievances that rankle, the real aspirations and demands that formulate policy, are of a mainly economic character, the desire for access to trade routes and harbours, the push for markets, and above all, the establishment of capitalistic control over the undeveloped resources of great backward countries with supplies of cheap labour and weak or corrupt governments.

If a durable peace is to be obtained, it can only be obtained by international arrangements directed primarily towards stopping the conflicts of business interests and the consequent political disputes which arise between advanced industrial and commercial nations for markets and lucrative investments. To expect that all the advanced countries will easily or quietly abandon their national protective tariffs and admit one another's goods freely is unreasonable. But it is not impossible that they should assent to an agreement to maintain or to establish equality of access to all markets in their colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence, and equal opportunities to the members of every nation to take part in the profitable development of the resources of their dependencies. Such an arrangement, could it be got, would remove most of the feelings of suspicion, jealousy and resentment which underlie the policy of imperialistic competition. Free access to trade routes by land and water, equal rights for traders to enter, buy

and sell, and for investors to apply their capital to the development and working of industries in all dependencies and international agreements for sharing upon equal terms the commercial and developmental opportunities afforded by backward independent countries, are the basic conditions of such an international arrangement.

It is in part the fuller application to foreign trade of the doctrine of *laissez faire, laissez aller*. But it is a positive, not merely a negative application that would be required. The State would not simply leave its traders and investors to go where they liked and put their goods where they liked at their own risk. The Governments of the several States would agree to give equal protection to the rights of the members of all nations in their respective areas of political control. Not merely would they agree not to take separate political action to secure markets, concessions or other economic privileges for their respective nationals, they would agree to take concerted action for the fair apportionment of economic opportunities in dealing with the governments and peoples of countries which, like China, were ripening for development by the use of foreign capital and enterprise.

A purely *laissez-faire* internationalism, which left individuals or groups of business men within each nation free to engage in any foreign trade they choose or to invest their capital in any foreign enterprise at their own risk, has never been practised and is not practicable. The actual practice has been for business men to secure the assistance of their Government in

pushing for markets, investments and concessions outside their own country, in competing with business men of other nations similarly supported by their Governments, and in bringing diplomatic or public pressure to bear upon the Government or people of any weak country where their trading or other economic interests are threatened. It is this illicit and underhanded use of foreign policy by private business interests which has converted economic internationalism into the peril it has shown itself to be. Since it is impossible for Governments to take a disinterested attitude towards the business operations of their nationals in foreign lands, a more definitively responsible control of these operations is the only alternative. And, if this control is to avoid the dangers of the past, it must be exercised by the concerted action of the Powers. In other words, international economics must be supported and sustained by international politics. This forward movement in political and economic internationalism is the only escape from a reversion towards a reactionary nationalism which will at once diminish the "opulence" of each country, without securing its "defence."

AUSTERITY, ART AND JOY

BY A. CLUTTON-BROCK

THERE is no doubt that we shall, most of us, be a great deal poorer after the war than we were before it. Most of us are poorer already, but we are bearing it rather well at present, because we have a definite object before us. We hope that, the more we save, the sooner the war will be over and we shall win it. It is easy to bear poverty when you have some definite object in view. It is easy to bear it if you think you are going to win a war by it or go to heaven; but the question is what are we going to make of it when it is simply the result of something that has happened before. We have had our extravagance, and we have dissipated our inheritance in riotous living, or rather the Germans have helped to do it for us; and the question is—how are we going to bear this poverty that is coming upon us? That is the point to which I want to address my lecture. But I ought to say before I begin that what had struck me for years and years had been our extraordinary poverty before the war. Our eyes might wax with fatness, and we might do even what we lusted, but we have not had enough money to build a decent cottage in the country. That has been the extraordinary fact about our civilisation. I have just come from the Cotswolds where the old

cottages, the old^d farmhouses, are all, you might say, lavishly built. The building there is the building of people who had money to spare. These homes are not fine but simply well built. As I looked at the farmhouses and cottages I could not help contrasting them with the houses built within the last forty years; and it is just the same with our churches. They show the same mean poverty all over them, and yet we have had an enormously increased means of production. What is the explanation of it? There is quite a simple explanation, which is that we were spending our money on something else. But what were we spending our money on? For the answer to that I would ask you to take a walk down Bond Street the next time you are in London. You will find there a large number of shops filled with expensive trash, and you cannot spend your money on expensive trash and good building at the same time.

The curious thing about our civilisation has been this, that we had any number of costly hotels with palm lounges—and palm loungers, and any amount of very ugly jewellery in Bond Street, any amount of motor cars and expensive ladies in expensive furs. But we could not afford art because it was so expensive. We could not afford to build beautiful churches or public buildings of any kind. We could afford very little good music, and hardly any good drama. We could not afford even much good plain food. How is this, what is the cause of it? The cause of it is that we have a taste for what we are pleased to call luxury, and we spend our money upon all these

things which are expensive and out of the way, and useless and ugly, rather than upon the perfectly simple things which we should use every day, and which would be always delightful and valuable to us. Now that is a matter of taste. If you use your money in buying caviare and *pâté de foie gras*, and all the things in Bond Street shops, you won't have any money to spare for making anything decent. And therefore, when people say we are going to be very poor after the war, and how dreadful it will be, I believe that it will be no loss at all to the mass of society if only we can learn now to take our poverty the right way. Of course if we go on hankering for Bond Street all the time we shall eventually get back Bond Street in a worse form. Take the case of the young man who had great possessions. Supposing he had sold all his goods and given to the poor, if he had been all the time hankering after his riches, he would not have been any better off in his soul. He would have tried some scheme by which he might make money to get them back. Now we have not sold all our possessions and given to the poor, but we have got rid of them in another way. The question is are we going to hanker after them again, or are we going to realise that we were desperately poor before the war in everything that makes life worth living? Are we going to realise that and make up our minds to a different kind of life? That is the question which we all have got to face, and therefore I think that my title, vague as it is, will fit into the general scheme of lectures which are to be given at this Summer

School; because it does concern the state of things after the war, and it concerns the state of mind with which we are going to face them.

Now I will try and put it as simply as possible. What we have to realise is what Christ meant when he said "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." Most of us do not see the point of that. We think we ought to like the lilies best because they were inexpensive and innocent things and Solomon was a bad man and had many wives. The point is that the lilies were much more beautiful than Solomon, and unless we see that we cannot understand the saying. Most of us think that is a sentimental view. One could not really like the lilies more than the Oriental monarch in his best robes. But, as a matter of fact the lilies were better than Solomon because Solomon was a vulgar person with a taste for bad art; and the reason people admire Solomon in all his glory more than the lilies is simply that they are not able to see the superiority of the lilies to the luxury of Solomon, which means all kinds of things, glory, power, kingdom. They see in this luxury that chief invention of the Devil, status, and where they see status they think they see the beautiful. The lilies have no status and you have to lose your worship of status before you can see the superiority of the lilies of the field to Solomon. I am not talking morals, I am just talking common sense. It is a curious fact about the human mind that if anything is presented to it

as purely moral it dislikes it, and divines and the clergy generally have not realised that fact. The moment we begin to feel the beauty of the lilies of the field we shall be sick to death of all the trash of our civilisation as so much litter which we want to clear out of the way.

Now people have always thought of austerity as something purely moral and therefore they have not liked it ; but I want to insist that we ought to be austere not from a sense of duty but from a sense of beauty. That is the mistake the Puritans made. They believed that people ought to give up all kinds of things because they liked them ; but the real way to be austere, the real value of austerity, is that you give up certain things you like for better things. The real austerity is when you give up things of no value for things which are of value. The Puritan failure all through was the failure to appeal to the best part of the natural man ; they wanted man to be unnatural. They believed there were no wild virtues, but only tame virtues. Now that is not so really. Man has in him a capacity for virtue and he has certain right values which he can develop. That is what Milton meant when he said, " How charming is divine philosophy." He was not meaning then to provide us with a rather unpleasant powder with jam round it. To him philosophy was all jam, as he said in more poetical language, " a perpetual feast of nectared fruits where no crude surfeit reigns." And you will notice that Milton was a different kind of Puritan from the others. He was always passionately in love with

austerity, but it meant for him this sense of the great simple things that had absolute value, and he had almost an animal dislike for the profligate, luxurious person because that person was to him ugly. We are always talking about the vulgar rich. But we cannot throw all our sins on to the vulgar rich, there are not enough of them. If we chose we could smother the vulgar rich, we could refuse to let them dominate everything. All the trash in Bond Street, all the ugly hotels, are not owing to the vulgar rich; they are owing to us, for we are all potentially the vulgar rich. Here I am preaching a sermon to myself. I have got these tastes myself just as much as others have; and if the war is going to purge us really it will purge us all of these tastes, it will make us feel that the austerity that we have to practise is not unpleasant or useless, but that we are going to get to something clean and useful and splendid through it; and then we shall discover that so far from being poorer than before the war we are very much richer.

A very curious thing happened to the whole of our society at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It came about a good deal through the Evangelical movement. That society gave up pleasure for comfort. It came to the conclusion that pleasure was very wicked, but comfort was innocent. The typical Evangelical at the beginning of the nineteenth century would have thought it wicked to engage in a swimming, voluptuous dance, but he would eat a good meal and then have a nap in a luxurious armchair. No doubt he would have been horrified at the Russian ballet,

but how would he have felt if he had tried a week or a month of the training of the ballet dancers? The fact is that when the modern world renounced pleasure, it thought it gave it up because it was wicked. It really gave it up because it was so terribly difficult and exciting. I dare say many of you have read Pepys' diary. Pepys was far less comfort-loving than we are in his pursuit of pleasure. He would go out at any time for a frolic. Even Dr. Johnson could be got out of bed any time in the night and say, "What, are you for a frolic? then I am with you." Pepys, though he may have been a very wicked person, had a most adventurous delight in simple pleasures. He did not stay at home in an armchair. He would go rushing about the country after pleasure. Wherever he went, you feel that the world in which he lived—it was a terrible world full of all kinds of profligacy, with the plague, and with Charles II. on the throne—that the people were enjoying innocent pleasures as well as guilty ones. What numbers of people there were to sing and dance with him on the village green. They sang their songs and danced their dances, but now they listen to a gramophone. That is what has come of all our comfort and spending money on trash. We cannot afford any arts of our own. The rich man hears Paderewski, the poor man hires a gramophone. It does not seem to me a desirable change in any way. You are getting this dreadful noise, secondhand, instead of being able to sing yourselves. Surely that is poverty, poverty compared with what people had 200 years ago, and we suffer from it because we have all got this

taste for trash. We have lost the sense of the thing that really is good in itself and we want everything to remind us of luxury. The poor man no longer dances his own dance and sings his own songs. He wants a star singer, so he listens to him on the gramophone; and in the same way he cannot afford to have really good bread, but he can afford to have tinned salmon. He also is living his luxurious life like the rich man. The poor man is not practising any kind of austerity. He is dominated by this same desire for luxuries as all the rest of us. He, too, is potentially one of the vulgar rich; and that is why he does not rise and sweep the vulgar rich away.

Now in all this period in which the desire for comfort usurped the desire for pleasure, there has been a great fear and dislike of the artist. He was regarded as a dangerous person, and curiously enough as a luxurious, pleasure-loving person; whereas the merchant at Clapham, who spent his whole life wrapt in comfort, regarded himself as austere and above all the pleasures of the world. I suppose he would have thought of Beethoven as a man of sin. But I have read an account of how some one came to see Beethoven when he was composing his Mass in D. He found there was no one to answer the door, the servants had all fled from the house in terror. Beethoven was at length discovered; he was unwashed, he had been composing the Mass, without food or sleep, for forty hours straight on end. There was this pleasure-loving artist. He was the austere man, and austere for the reason that he had an absolute passion for the

things he valued most. He would sacrifice anything for them. It is that kind of austerity that we want to aim at.

It is no good being austere because we think God is a jealous God, and He does not like us to enjoy ourselves. We need to have a passionate sense of the value of righteousness, and to be ready to sacrifice anything for it, but our sacrifice will be squalid and unattractive unless with our other values we have the value of beauty. Without that you will never get our people to be content with righteousness and truth. In all great religious periods it has always existed, and it has produced the great Greek Temple, the great Gothic Cathedral. It is a curious fact that almost all the really great ages of art have been marked by a great austerity in private life. The Athenians, for example, whose life seems to have been in a way one whirl of pleasure, were austere enough. Their view was that luxury was an irrelevant vulgarity, it was a thing that no civilised person would like, it belonged to barbarians; and it is interesting to compare a modern English theatre with the theatre of Dionysus. Look at our theatres in London, look at the ghastly trappings, the hideous-fringed curtains, the nasty padding of the chairs, and the scenery in which the plays are embedded. Then think of the Athenian theatre. Instead of all this they had Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and also that divine and ribald ruffian Aristophanes.

They had the plays and we have the trimmings, and the difference comes from this passionate austerity

of the Athenian, the thing that we have entirely lost and which we shall have to regain if we are going to have any pleasure in our own poverty. It seems to me that what we need if we are going to change our poverty into something beautiful and worth having is the elements of religion. I do not mean religion itself. I mean merely the necessary preliminary elements of religion, and the necessary preliminary elements of religion is the valuing of things that are worth valuing for themselves. We talk about loving God, but you cannot specialise in loving God. You have to love Him for Himself and not because you want to get something out of Him, not because you want to go to heaven; and you must love everything that is worth valuing if you are going to love God at all. You require a training if you are going to love God. You must be able to love the lilies in the field, you must have the sense of the absolute in everything before you can have the sense of the absolute in God.

One reason now why we have so little religion is because our whole lives have been rotted by this valuing of things in terms of something else. Take an example from the arts. It is very seldom that people value a work of art for itself. They value it for themselves. The cultured person thinks that he enjoys Botticelli. But what he enjoys is his own belief that he is enjoying Botticelli. That belief is a luxury to him. But as soon as you really value things for their own sake you do not care for luxury any more. There is something which is real to you, and all luxury you throw out of the way as so much litter. Our minds

as well as our houses have been cumbered up with this litter, and what we have got to do is to scrap it all. I think that the most subtle temptation of Satan is to make us think of everything in terms of something else, and we shall have to get rid of that temptation if we are going to make for ourselves a really fine, austere civilisation.

Now unless we do this, unless we do manage by means of austerity to attain to some kind of joy and some kind of beauty and art, we shall have no kind of lasting peace. Pacifists are shocked at the joy with which nations throw themselves into war. They do not see that the reason is that the nations have made so little of peace. It was the incredible boredom of our peace which made the peoples hail a war with delight. Just in the same way the early Christians in the universal ennui of the Roman Empire rushed to martyrdom. Many people are shocked at this blind eagerness although they have never been shocked at the peace that produced it. We are all, including the pacifists, responsible for the world to which the war came as a glorious relief. We all helped to make that peace which did not seem worth having because it was so poor, and because it was empty of absolute values. We may make all kinds of attempts to secure peace, but, if you have a peace which bores people to death, sooner or later with some one nation the boredom will become so intense that it will go to war. That was really, I honestly believe, what happened to the Germans. The peace they had was not worth having.

We shall never get freedom from war, or a secure peace, until we get a peace that is worth having. The question, therefore, is are we going to go on hankering after Bond Street? If so, the pacifists may be sure that they will be shocked again. Another wild desire to get away from Bond Street will mean another fierce outbreak of war. Therefore, the subject that I have been dealing with is really of vital importance. I am no politician. I am no economist, but I speak to individual people and ask them to think of their own state of mind, because, if each tries to deal with his own state of mind and succeeds in changing it, we have done something of value. If you want to make anybody good, make yourself. If every particular individual person dealt with himself in the right way, all our societies for doing this and that would not be necessary. I am not denying the value of societies. What I want people to do for the moment at this lecture is to forget societies and to deal with themselves, to think of their own sense of values. I want every one to go home and look at his house, to see how much trash there is in it.

I heard once a story of a Japanese lady who showed a photograph of an English drawing-room to an English woman. The drawing-room belonged to a very exalted person indeed and yet this Japanese lady tittered over it. It was to her a huge joke and she supposed it must be one to the English woman too. That is how our refined luxury struck an intelligent Oriental. It was to her a laughing-stock, a mere mass of litter and trash. Yet all this litter and trash had been made by

somebody. Lives had been wasted over it, and, what perhaps is worse, the people who bought it laboured under the belief that they enjoyed it. That is the universal tyranny of our subjection to luxury. We do not even know what enjoyment is. And this tyranny enters even into our religion. Our churches are like that drawing-room, only meaner. The altar in the ordinary church, which ought to be a wonderful glorified table, is like a stall at a bazaar. It is all covered with trash. Many people would say that this does not matter. It seems to me to matter most intensely. There in our religion, the very place where we ought to succeed æsthetically, if we are going to succeed at all, there we have given up austerity and art for luxury. We are under the impression that God has the same taste as ourselves in this matter. I am convinced He has not. I may seem to be terribly at home with Zion, but I am convinced that He cannot like the ordinary altar in the ordinary church. And it is a great pity that in the popular and orthodox accounts of heaven there is so much jewellery. Heaven itself, since it is a beautiful place, must be an austere place. It must have that austerity which is a quality of all noble art. There will be dancing and singing in it, but not armchairs and litter and trash. So, I fear, the people who give up comforts in this life, because they hope to be comfortable in Heaven, will be disappointed. For in Heaven there will be more pleasure than comfort ; and if we are to enjoy Heaven, when we go there, we must learn to enjoy what is worth enjoying on earth. So, if we can understand

that on earth we are to train ourselves for the active pleasures, not for the passive comforts, of Heaven, we shall be able to face the poverty that is coming to us after the war in the right spirit, and shall find in it the way to a joy and a civilisation we have never dreamed of.

TRADE UNION REGULATIONS

THE EMPLOYER'S POINT OF VIEW

BY SIR HUGH BELL

WHEN on August 4, 1914, Great Britain joined France and Russia in defence of Freedom, we all knew that a page in the great book of History had been turned, and that we had entered on a new epoch. The world could never again be as it had been in our former experience.

All that has happened since that fateful day has gone to confirm this view. It is not a page turned but, as far as we can judge amidst the present welter, a new volume which has been begun. The war has brought us to consider many subjects, to reconsider our views in many others, and perhaps it may be said to put all in new lights.

Of none is this more true than of all those which deal with economic questions. There is some risk lest we should be led to jettison good opinions as well as bad and, because they appear to conflict with some passing stage of evolution, to reject truths which rest on long experience and which have brought us untold benefits in the past.

It behoves us to be all the more careful in our examination of the various schemes for that remodeling of the world which we think will come with peace,

lest we sacrifice the substance for the shadow, and find, as men have too often found in the past, that we have abandoned solid advantages for a mere fool's paradise in which nothing is what it seems.

Among the questions which were being debated before the war, one of the chief was that on which I have been asked to speak to you to-day. The Trade Union had, after prolonged struggles, of which the story may be read in the pages of the *History of Trade Unions* by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, acquired a strong position. From being an outcast and an outlaw, it had obtained legislative recognition, and the bitter grievances which, far into the nineteenth century continued to exist, had disappeared. Indeed the Union from being outside had got in some respects above the law. The privileged position of the employer of which, in earlier times, the workman had so loudly (and I may add so justly) complained, had passed from him to his man.

It may be held with some justice that from being the subject of tyranny by others, the Trade Union was put into the position of being able to tyrannise in its turn over the employer. This is a state of things which is unwholesome under all circumstances. There are grounds for contending that the tyranny of the many is likely to be more intolerable than that of the few. For it is hard to bring home to any individual the responsibility for the misdeeds of a crowd, and so it is more difficult to punish or even reason with and prevent such conduct. Be this as it may, there is no question that the relations between employers and the

Trade Unions had, long prior to 1914, been the subject of anxious consideration on both sides. I think it may be affirmed that the older and more experienced of the leaders of the men were almost as much concerned at the position of matters as the more temperate of the employers. The men have no monopoly of hot-headedness. I have heard almost as wild and unreasonable views expressed in the councils of the employers as those which were stated by the men at various meetings of which the proceedings were published. It would serve no good purpose to cite definite cases. I think my hearers will be able to recall instances of what I am saying within their own recollection.

But it is not of Trade Unionism at large that I have undertaken to speak, but of the Employer's View of Trade Union Regulations. I feel some doubt whether I can claim to put *the* employer's point of view. In some respects I hold opinions which differ widely from those entertained by the employing class as a whole. At most I can ask you to listen to the view of *an* employer.

I say this because very soon after I began to be conversant with labour problems, I came to think that not only was the Trade Union attitude a reasonable one, but that, rightly understood, the existence of a strongly-led Union, having at its head men of intelligence and practical common-sense, was a distinct advantage to employer as well as to employed.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, modern conditions have made the intercourse between

employer and employed very difficult. My own case is hardly typical though there are many like it. The undertaking in which I am interested is spread over two counties and owns works in more than twenty parishes. It employs many thousand men. What chance is there of my having personal acquaintance with any large number of the men for whose wages I am responsible? But even if we take a more compact business, like a great factory, employing under one roof perhaps as many men as there were in my score of parishes, what opportunity has the manager, let alone the proprietor, or director, of knowing personally a tithe of the men working under that roof?

The Trade Union offers him the opportunity of knowing at least the representative committee of the men he employs. If, as I have on the whole found to be the case, the members of it are fair-minded and truthful men, they will, to the best of their ability, transmit to their fellows the views expressed to them at the meetings at which matters in debate are discussed. They will put their employers in possession, not only of their own individual views, but also of those held by the mass of men whom they represent.

In the frank interchange of opinion each party learns much, and if each side comes desiring to understand the other and not merely to get dialectical advantages, their meeting cannot fail to bring about better comprehension on both sides. I have long felt that the franker and more complete the disclosure made by the employer the better it would be for all concerned.

It is a common complaint that the men have not

the knowledge necessary to form a judgment and, that, wanting this knowledge which the employers possess, they are placed at a serious disadvantage. There is a good deal of truth in this complaint. I have myself, as far as I could, tried to lessen it by giving, whenever the opportunity presented itself, facts and figures which would enlighten the men's representatives.

Another complaint I have heard is that the better education of the employers gives them an advantage in the conflict of argument. I confess I don't think this borne out by the facts as I know them. In the matter of quickness of apprehension and alert mother wit, the men I have met are a full match for the employers. I have often been struck by the rapidity with which they perceive and take advantage of any flaw in the reasoning offered to them.

There is a tale told of two pundits of the law who held a great place in the eyes of the public half a century ago. They were in consultation and the junior had suggested a line of argument based on a fallacy. His more experienced and (were I to name him you would agree his much more wily) senior checked him, saying :—"Never make a mistake in logic—the facts are always at your disposal." Whatever may be said about the latter part of the advice, very commonly adopted by controversialists, the earlier portion is very sound indeed and is specially to be borne in mind in an argument with a Trade Union Committee as I know such bodies. Someone will infallibly pounce on any begging of the question

or other fallacious line of reasoning. And the worst of it is that being detected in a fallacy in one part of your chain renders all the rest suspect.

The advice I am offering to those who have to act for employers may be tendered also to folk on the other side. I have not infrequently been disappointed to find that the information afforded in the way described above has been used, unintentionally I don't doubt, to found arguments which the premises would not sustain. Those who took this line failed to apprehend the true interpretation of the facts. They concluded that I was juggling with the figures and that, rightly understood, these did not warrant the conclusion I had drawn.

I give an example of this sort of thing which will show what I have in mind. Without going into the exact figures this is what happened. I had stated that the average profits of a certain business with which I am connected was under, say, 11 per cent. per annum. "How is this possible?" said my critic, "your profits are declared to have been at the rate of say 100 per cent., 50 per cent., 6 per cent. and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the average of that is over 40 per cent." But he omitted to observe that the capital which earned 100 per cent. was, say, £1000, that which earned 50 per cent. was say £2000, while two dividends of 6 per cent. and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were earned on a capital of £20,000, so that the total income from the concern was £4,300 in the four years or £1,075 per annum, while the *average* capital was £10,750. He had overlooked the difference between an arithmetical average and a

geometrical average. It was as though he had said, if nine men get £100 a year each, and one gets £1000, the average is £950, whereas the true average is got by adding together the income of the one £1000 a year man and the £900 earned by the other nine and dividing the total of £1,900 by ten, so that the true average is £190.

I may say in passing that the paradox and his confusion arose from the fact that the concern in question had earned dividends on capital which though spent, had not been called up. By the end of the fourth year it had all been called up. Meanwhile a period of high prices had gone by, profits had fallen very heavily, and the earnings having now to be distributed over the full capital which the works represented, afforded only a very modest dividend to those interested, and the average of the four years was 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. I must add that though substantially this is what happened, I have not taken the actual figures or the actual capital, but have substituted hypothetical figures to illustrate the point.

We must not be discouraged by such examples of misapprehension. Rather they should make us endeavour to explain more clearly the grounds on which we base our statements, and be more patient with mistakes for which we ourselves are partly if not altogether responsible. This, however, signifies that we should be more and not less ready to give information which will enable the men in our employment to judge for themselves of the truth of our contentions.

There is a certain unwillingness on the part of

employers generally to do this. They are perhaps alarmed lest they should give information which will be used against them. In the coal trade of Durham, where for many years wages have been made the subject of negotiation between a strong federated union, representing the men employed in all branches of the coal industry, and a body of owners comprising practically the whole of the county, very considerable progress has been made in this direction. The "objects" of the Conciliation Board under which these negotiations are conducted, are stated thus :—

"By conciliatory means to prevent disputes, and to put an end to any that may arise, and with this view to consider and decide upon all claims that either party may from time to time make for a change in county rates or wages or county practices, and upon any other questions, not falling within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee, that it may be agreed between the parties to refer to the Board."

The rules make provision for the appointment of an umpire, and the rule 8 provides :—

"The Umpire may at his discretion require either party to afford him the means of obtaining, for the information of the Board only, any facts that, in his judgment, are essential to the decision of any question at issue."

It will be observed what very wide powers are given to the Umpire. I think he would be entitled to call for a disclosure of the actual costs of working. For my part I have long been of opinion that such a disclosure would go far to convince the men that the

owners are justified in stating that they are not able to pay any large increase in the wages. The men employed would, I think, be surprised to find how small on the average is the margin on which the coal trade of Durham is conducted. This does not mean that some collieries do not earn large profits. But wages based on these, supposing there were any economic justification for a suggestion that they should be based on the profits of the best pit, would produce a result detrimental not only to the men employed and to the coal trade, but to the trade of the country as a whole. What would be the effect of establishing a rate of wages which rendered half the collieries in the county unworkable at a profit? The men earning fair, if not extravagant wages, would be thrown out of work, the industries depending on coal would have to stop. General misery must ensue. The result of any inquiry of the sort must be to determine whether rates of wages at which men can live in decent comfort can be paid and the level of output maintained. If this can't be done then indeed it becomes a grave question whether a trade which cannot effect this is worth carrying on at all. If no other alternative presents itself then the conclusion to let the coal trade perish is inevitable. The same is true of every branch of industry.

It may seem to you that I have been led rather far away from the subject of my discourse, but I hope to show you that considerations of the kind are inherent in the point of view of the employer on Trade Union Regulations.

For many years past I and many others have been

protesting strongly against the direction in which the Trade Union has been moving. I am of opinion (but in this I think I am not a typical employer) that the employer has not been free from blame for what has happened.

The men have formed the opinion that by restricting output they could raise wages. They have accepted the fallacy which prefers scarcity to abundance because, observing that when any article of commerce which is in demand is scarce the price rises, they have concluded that by restricting their labour they would raise the reward for it.

What I will call the scarcity fallacy is protean in its changes of aspect, and a volume might be written to exemplify this. I will give one instance which came to my personal knowledge and which illustrates what I mean.

A man I know hazarded the following statement :—

“ I'm a bachelor,” said he, “ and my hat covers my family. In three days I can earn all I want. I only work that time, and I leave the rest of the job for another man.”

As to the first part of his statement I have only to make these comments. If he was content to live on what he could earn in three days, and spend the rest of his time in enjoying life no one could say him nay. The strict moralist might ask how he spent and might find grounds to animadvert on the use to which he put his time. But if he read elevating literature or even went to suitable Picture Halls, abstained from Wein, Weib and perhaps even Gesang with such accom-

paniments, I don't see who can complain. If he poses as a good citizen something may be said against him, but this would be mainly covered by what I have to say on the final part of his statement, which was demonstrably false. Strange though it may seem he did *not* leave a job for another man. On the contrary he deprived a man of a job. For if he had worked he would have earned money. If he had earned money he would have spent it. We may dismiss the idea he would have put it into a stocking—that is the only way he can escape from my argument. If he had spent it it would have employed someone who, but for his “leaving him a job,” would have been working. Suppose even he had put it into a bank, savings or other, he is still caught, for the bank would have used it, and all money goes in the main to employ human labour in some form.

At the same time I can hardly wonder at this man's view, because the same fallacy underlies those of many people who have much better opportunity of forming correct opinions.

In the case of those of us engaged in productive industry, whether we are employer or employed, the fallacy is even less pardonable than in others. Just consider the facts. The proceeds of the ton or yard of material produced must pay the whole cost of production. The capitalist has no purse of Fortunatus from which to pay anything. Out of the ton or the yard must come all the reward to himself and to all those engaged with him in the enterprise. How is anybody to be better paid by any of those engaged in

the enterprise setting themselves to produce less than their share? Whether it be in mine or in workshop a place in which to labour costs money to prepare and maintain. Its produce must be removed and disposed of, which also costs money. Suppose the workman occupying such a place and paid by the ton, instead of producing two tons, produces one only. All the cost other than his actual wage falls on that one ton instead of being borne by two.

Let me assume that to produce 1000 tons of coal a day costs 10,000 pence or 10d. a ton for all this preparation. The figure is an arbitrary one, but is not far from the truth in certain cases. Assume that the men, either from slack work or by lost time, produce only 900 tons (no extravagant assumption I regret to say) the 1000 tenpences which have to be paid whether the pit works full stroke or not, have to be paid out of the 900 tons, that is to say the 10d. a ton becomes for that day over 11d. Now that extra penny has to be paid somehow. The owner, who is not responsible for the loss, won't pay it if he can help it, and as the workmen are going to receive something over 70 per cent. of the total price of the coal and more than 80 per cent. of its cost, it is most likely that they will be called upon to pay it in whole or part. So you see that the man not only earns less by working less, but his earnings per ton are reduced by the extra cost which his slack working incurs. It is quite true to say that his conduct and that of those who do likewise, actually defeats the object they have in view, and renders the coal owner less able to meet their demands.

What is true of the miner is at least as true of the factory worker. Take the case of a man in charge of some costly tool, a lathe for instance. Such a machine costs money to instal, to run and maintain, and these constitute first charges upon it, for unless they are met we should not have the tool.

In olden days when I was young such a machine ran 63 hours a week, 6 days of 10½ hours' working time apiece. That has gradually been reduced to 52 or 53, and now in some cases to 48, that is to say nearly 24 per cent. I am of opinion that this great reduction has not been all loss—indeed it may be that properly regarded it is nearly all gain. I doubt whether, day after day, a man can go on working 12 hours a day, less meal-time, and can produce as much as if he worked more earnestly and for shorter hours. But that is just the crux. Does he work in this way? In many cases he advisedly does not work as hard as he might. Under the rules of the Union he is forbidden to do more than a certain stint in the shift. That means that the inevitable fixed charges must be spread over a smaller number of articles.

But here again the only source from which all the charges against the machine can be met is the amount it earns. The operative causes the charge per article produced to be greater, then complains that his employer refuses to increase his wages, forgetting that by his own act he has lessened the income of the tool, and increased the percentage charge against it. Let me assume that the tool could produce 240 of the articles which it is designed to manufacture, and that

it costs 20s. a day to run. Each article has to bear 1d. If the restriction placed on output reduces the 240 to 180, the cost is raised to $1\frac{1}{3}$ d. per article. Suppose we put the wage of a competent man working such a machine at 6s. a day. The labour cost of each article will be 0.3d. and the tool cost 1d. at 240 per diem, but if he only produces 180 this labour cost rises to 0.4d., the tool cost to 1.33d., together nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. against 1.3d. Now see what would happen if, instead of making 60 less than the proper tale he made 60 over. The labour cost falls to 0.24d., the tool cost to 0.8d., and the total for these two amounts to only a trifling fraction more than in the normal conditions the tool cost alone would have come to. If I pursue this dull subject further it is because I wish to found other reasoning on it.

Let me assume that the article when finished is worth 2d. The 240 will produce 40s. at a daily cost for labour and tools of 26s., and with a balance therefore of 14s. to meet all other outgoings—the cost of the material, of management and distribution, etc. But if only 180 are produced then the 40s. falls to 30s., and there remains only 4s. to cover all these expenses, while if it rises to 300 we have 50s. against outgoings of 26s. as before, or a surplus of 24s. In practice, what happens is this:—A new machine is installed, a discussion between the employer and the men's Union takes place as to the rate to be paid for piecework. The two parties agree that 6s. a day is a fair wage for the work. The employer says he thinks the machine should turn out 300 articles in the shift. The men say

150 is the outside possible. In the end 240 is agreed upon, and the rate is fixed at 6d. a score. I will not weary you with the endless details and technicalities—the experimental runs, etc., etc., which have been required to get thus far. But arrived at this point there is still much more manœuvring on both sides. The Union seeks to fix the 6d. rate and to do this they compel the workmen not to exceed but rather to fall below the standard of 240—12 score. The employer on the other hand who wants to get his wages cost as low as possible, tries to force the pace and to show that without any undue effort the men can make two or three score more, and that he ought to do this for the 6s.

So far I think both are mistaken, but the worse mistake is that of the employer, for see what happens if the man in fact makes an extra couple of score. He indeed gets 1s. above his agreed wage, but the tool cost remains constant, so the total cost for those two items comes to 27s., while the selling value of the output becomes 46s. 8d., so that the surplus is 19s. 8d. against 14s. on the normal output.

The reconciliation of these divergent views is the difficult problem which faces us. If my example were quite a typical case this ought not to be difficult, but a great many other considerations have to be taken into account.

I will point out one which is of very common occurrence. The employer sees ways of improving the tool. These involve increasing the tool cost, and the 20s. becomes say 30s. The effect of this is to enable the

man to produce considerably above the agreed normal output of 240, with (as the employer contends) no additional labour to the man. If the improvement produced only a few score more articles the employer would be repaid for his outlay. But it has too often happened in the past that the men have strenuously opposed changes of the kind—nor can one be altogether surprised at the line they take.

Let us assume a large establishment where there are a great many such tools. The owner sees a way in which largely to increase the output of each machine by some self-acting device, which will enable one man to look after several machines. The men see that this means that some of their number, perhaps a considerable proportion, will not be needed, and refuse to undertake the charge of more than one machine. The Union supports them, and the improvement is not introduced. Scarcity has been preferred to abundance.

Before I leave this part of my subject I should like to call attention to another aspect of the question which presents almost greater difficulties.

Some new method of manufacture has been established, and I will take a specific instance to illustrate what I mean. The manufacture of steel by the Martin Siemens or open hearth process is of comparatively recent date. I need not describe it in detail. It will suffice to say that it consists essentially of a very costly apparatus, a regenerative furnace with all the constructions required to make it effective.

Such a contrivance does not spring fully equipped

like Minerva from the inventor's brain. It is of gradual development, and by slow stages achieves perfection. To get it to work needs the hearty co-operation of the men employed at it. This is obtained by giving them the sordid inducement of high wages. It can often be shown that though they can hinder, they cannot (or what is much the same thing) they frequently will not help. So the inducement must take the form of a wage depending on their co-operation as measured by output. The inventor thinks his furnace will produce 20 tons a cast and will make 10 casts a week. He hopes he may get to 25 tons and 11 casts. He fixes a price to give a good wage at the first figures and a high at second. He gradually gets the output, increases it—touches the higher limit. But meantime he has learned how to improve his furnace and to raise the output to say 30 tons. The labour of the man is lessened by charging cranes and other devices to reduce the effort required. He now finds the man is getting a very high wage and he seeks to reduce it. A period of uneasiness ensues when the divergent interests of the two parties produce conflict. Finally a compromise is come to. The tonnage rate is reduced, leaving the man a very high wage, much higher than that at which he was at the outset ready to give his services. And then all begins again.

This is no imaginary sketch, but is based on real experience. The furnaces have been gradually increased in size till from 20 tons they have grown to produce 40—50—60 or even 100 tons. The wages under the circumstances described have increased

till the three men on each shift who have charge of the furnace are earning wages which rise as high as £14 and £9 and £7 a week respectively. I do not maintain that they have not a laborious, irksome and responsible job, but I do say that the wage they get is out of all proportion to the amount of skill and labour they apply.

Why, it may be asked, does the steelmaker submit to such a state of things? The answer is very significant and goes a long way to explain a great deal that happens in industry. The manufacturer is out for profit. He is not, as such, a social reformer or a political economist. He very often considers that sort are mere theorists and faddists. He has a costly apparatus from which he wants to make as much money as he can. He finds that the men in charge can hinder if they can't greatly help. He counts on evoking their self-interest on his side. He overpays them. But, when all is said and done, the overpayment is counted in pence per ton, and it is cheaper to waste those pence than, after a great struggle and possibly a severe loss, to find that the Union has been stronger than he and he has to give in after all.

It is true he has created a privileged class among the workmen. I have known in other industries endeavours made to secure to the Union the right to nominate to this privileged class. This circumstance alone causes me to doubt whether even in the Utopia of which some dream, there will be complete abolition of privilege, for here in the class whence proceed the most vivid denunciations of it we see it getting a foothold.

I do not for one moment defend either side in the transaction I have described. But men must be very differently constituted from those we know to-day before they will take the purely altruistic standpoint which would cause those on the one side and on the other to agree not to avail themselves of the power they possess to make bargains favourable to their own personal interest and let the community go hang.

None the less is it true that such conduct if pursued too far would put a stop to progress which depends on the surplus of production in any period. Of the total output in a year it is commonly reckoned that something like three-fourths is consumed in maintaining the nation. This covers all the expenditure, necessary and unnecessary, which the inhabitants choose to make. The modest income on which so large a proportion of our fellow-citizens are obliged to subsist, the more satisfactory sums which fall to those of the class immediately above, the still longer revenues enjoyed and spent in luxurious living by a small portion of the community are all included in this grand total. The sweated wage which keeps some poor woman out of the pit of perdition (or perhaps casts her into it) is there, and the income reckoned by scores of thousands, which gives its owner houses in town and country, grouse moors, yachts and the like, which fills his houses with precious works of art and loads his table with costly viands, is there also. That this wide discrepancy exists may be regretted, but it has existed since the dawn of history, and it seems doubtful whether it will ever cease. Anything which can be spared from this

vast sum, so unequally divided, goes to swell the residue to which I wish next to refer.

It is to this part of the national income that we must look for improvements in the condition of our people as a whole. Anything which diminishes this surplus is telling against the improvement to which we look forward.

Waste, wherever and however incurred, has this effect. It does not come within the scope of my speech to dwell on that which is due to the extravagance of the very rich or of the well-to-do. But the waste for which the Trade Union is responsible is the subject with which I have undertaken to deal.

Now all these things to which I have been calling attention produce waste. When a machine does not produce its full output, or a man who could "mind" two refuses to "mind" more than one, when an exorbitant wage is paid and the cost of the resulting article is enhanced, in all these cases waste ensues. Let us see what follows.

The population of this country has in the past increased at the rate of about 1 per cent. per annum. That is to say that for every 1000 men in my employment about ten youths will have grown up to manhood every year, or shall I say to the stage of having to earn their own living. The amount varies from industry to industry, but if we say £200 we have a figure which roughly represents the capital needed to set a man to work. If for every 1000 men in my employment I cannot invest £2,000, some young men will have to go elsewhere to seek a job.

Some industries are already full. There is reason to think this is true of agriculture in an old settled country like England. Intensive culture, if it can be shown to be profitable, may call for more labour. If this is the case, so much the better, for then the land will hold more profit, produce relatively much more food, and help that abundance which I for one set far above the scarcity for which in fact many people are, perhaps unwittingly, striving. If we take any great progressive industry, however, my proposition is true. It is certainly true of my own, for though, for reasons which it is not difficult to give, the tonnage of iron made in Great Britain has not increased recently, the capital has grown enormously in consequence of the industry being carried to more advanced stages. We must have this surplus ready in order to find work for the youth of the nation. There is nothing in this for any improvement in the standard of living. If capital is needed for this then the savings must be by so much greater. That the standard of living has improved in the last century will not be denied. If we ask how, we shall be told by improved sanitation, by better communication by road and rail, by more (let us hope sounder) education, and so on. All these things mean more capital, and that has to come out of the surplus. Now Trade Union action has tended, as I think I have shown, to reduce rather than to enhance this surplus. There has been a clamour for improved wages, but there has not been any marked readiness to give in return better service. It is to be observed that if increased wages are given without an increase in output, we

are not better but much worse off. The increased wage is to raise the standard of life. But this means that there will be no addition to the surplus. To give a fanciful and rather trivial illustration a man can, let us say, stoke as well on an apple as a peach. The apple costs a penny and the peach a shilling. His standard of life may have been raised, but his efficiency has not been improved. If his stoking were thirteen times as good on the peach as on the apple, then I vote by the peach by all means, for we have added 1d. to the surplus.

It is from this that the improvement must come. Can we persuade the people as a whole, Trade Unions and employers, rich and poor, those who labour with their hands as well as those who labour with their heads, of the truth of the proposition? If we can, then I shall face with an easy mind the reconstruction to which we are looking. If a great redistribution of wealth is to come, if the proceeds of human activity are to be divided in some more even way, I hope this will be accomplished without serious upheaval. I look myself with more hope to a gradual enlightenment of all on economic subjects—a perception of the limits within which we can deal successfully with economic problems, a willingness on the part of all sections to endeavour to understand each other's views and so bring about a give and take policy which will render harmless, or better still unnecessary, such Trade Union Regulations as those to which in this paper I have referred,

TRADE UNION REGULATIONS

FROM THE TRADE UNION POINT OF VIEW

BY REV. DR. A. J. CARLYLE

WE hope for, we do most earnestly desire the establishment of industrial peace on equitable and just terms, but we shall never attain it unless we recognise clearly that the industrial conditions of the past have been conditions of war.

There has been no more fruitful source of mischief in the history of the world than the proclaiming of peace when there is no peace, the attempt, however well-meant, to gloss over the ugly facts of life and experience, to proclaim that men's interests have been identical when they have been actually opposed to each other. There has been no more fruitful source of mischief in human experience, and nowhere has the mischief been greater than in the industrial world, in relation to the question of the conditions of labour.

And it has, unfortunately, been often true that religious people have been more guilty perhaps in this respect, than any other body of people. It is no doubt possible to find explanations for this, but we must be very much on our guard lest we should fall into the mistake of supposing that an explanation is the same as a justification, that when we find intelligible causes for something, we are finding valid excuses for it.

The explanation is two-fold, one a little ugly, the other more creditable. The first is that the judgment of religious people in the modern world, and their opinions, have been in a large measure influenced by the circumstances and outlook of the middle and well-to-do classes, the second that they have felt that the principle of religion is peace and friendship between man and man. The first has tended to blind them to the actual conditions, the second has led them to disapprove of organisations and actions which seemed to them to make for industrial war.

I must therefore ask you first of all to consider what have been the actual conditions of modern industrial society, and I do not think that we can begin with any more penetrating criticism or estimate, than that which was made by Adam Smith, more than a century ago. "What are the common wages of labour," he said, "depends everywhere upon the contract usually made between these two parties" (the workmen and the masters) "whose interests are by no means the same. The workmen desire to get as much, the masters to give as little, as possible. The former are disposed to combine in order to raise, the latter, in order to lower, the wages of labour." This statement may appear to you to be somewhat cynical and brutal, but unhappily it has shown itself true in the experience of the last hundred years, and its truth requires no elaborate evidence.

These are the conditions which have produced the great organisations of employers and of workpeople, and which have stunned our ears with the noise and

tumult of industrial conflicts. This does not mean that there are no common interests between the employer and the labourer, indeed these are great and important, they are both interested in the efficiency of the productive process, and in the volume of production, and if men were able to understand fully their own interests, they would know that the highest efficiency of production under the present system is dependent upon a reasonable return to the employer and upon the enjoyment by the labourer of such conditions as will enable and encourage him to develop all his energy and skill. Unhappily the history of industry during the past century shows very clearly that while the best and most intelligent employers and workmen understand and appreciate these principles, in general this understanding has been overshadowed by a fierce conflict over the distribution of the product. Adam Smith's statement does correspond with the actual facts of experience, and industrial society is torn and rent by perpetual conflicts, which from time to time reach such a height as to compel the attention and to rouse the alarm of the most unobservant and indifferent.

Such have been the conditions of industrial life during the past century, and such were the conditions when the outbreak of the war in 1914 suddenly made men aware that these divisions and conflicts menaced not merely the industrial prosperity of the country but even the national safety. We may almost have forgotten the menacing conditions of the summer of 1914. The immediately preceding years had witnessed the development of industrial conflicts on a scale greater than any-

thing within our memory. The great strike of 1911 on the railways had brought home to the minds of even the most careless, the immediate dependence of the whole fabric of social life on the smooth and regular working of the transport system, and the great conflict in the coal-mining industry in 1912 had threatened to arrest the whole industrial life and activity of the nation. Indeed these conflicts were on such a scale and were so menacing to the national life that the Government had been compelled to intervene and to impose a settlement upon the conflicting parties. In the summer of 1914 there seemed every probability that the autumn would witness a further development of industrial conflict upon an even larger scale.

The war has served one great purpose, it has made real to men that there is after all a unity which transcends our differences, that is, the unity of the national life, and has made clear that in the recognition of that unity, men are willing to lay aside, if only for the moment, their particular desires, however just and lawful these may be. It is indeed in the new hope which this has brought us that we are met here, in the hope that what we have seen and understood in the moment of national danger we may be able to hold fast in the time of peace.

The call of the nation, the call of honour and duty, has led men, not universally, I know, but generally, to lay aside their conflicts and, what is in one sense much more, has persuaded the wage-earners to lay aside for the moment the methods of defence and protection,

which they had slowly created through the patient thought and labour of a hundred years, and I must therefore ask you now to consider very carefully and dispassionately the nature of these regulations or customs which are the immediate subject of our consideration.

If we are to consider the matter seriously we must begin by observing that those customs and regulations are, speaking generally, related to the fact of industrial conflict, they are the methods or forms under which the wage-earners have endeavoured to protect themselves against the otherwise overwhelming force of the real or supposed economic pressure which directs the action of employers. We shall understand them best when we see that they are, in their essential character, of the same nature as the regulations and limitations which are imposed upon industry by the Factory Acts.

The nation was compelled to accept this great system of restraint and control, because the experience of the first half of the nineteenth century made it clear that without such protection the weaker members of industrial society were unable to resist the pressure of the economic forces. It was found to be necessary to devise strict regulations which should control primarily the conditions under which women and children should be employed. The labour of young children was first limited, and then in many industries prohibited. The labour of women was prohibited altogether in some cases, in others it was limited to certain hours or periods. And in addition it was found to be necessary to devise

very elaborate regulations, for the safety of all wage-earners, men, women, and children, in many industries, regulations with regard to the fencing of machinery, the sanitary conditions of factories and workshops, and many other things of the same kind. And it is necessary to remember that the development of these regulations was unhappily opposed by the great majority of manufacturers, on grounds of much the same kind as those which are alleged against the customs and regulations of the Trade Unions. You will find indeed that there is a much closer analogy between these and the regulations of the Factory Acts than you would at first sight imagine.

We may, for the sake of clearness, divide Trade Union regulations and customs into two great sections, those which are concerned with the protection of the wage-earner against over-pressure and over-work, and those which are concerned with the protection of the standard of life and wages of the labourer.

The Factory Acts limit, legally and compulsorily, the hours of work of women and young persons and a great deal of the energy of the Trade Unions has been thrown into the effort to limit the hours of work of the adult male labourer, to establish and to protect the normal working day. We may not perhaps have wholly understood the meaning of a phrase of which we have heard much, during the last two years, the rate of wages for overtime, but it is by the method of a high rate of wages for work beyond the normal time, that the Trade Unions have endeavoured and have successfully endeavoured, to discourage when they

cannot altogether prevent, the extension of the normal working day. These efforts have at times been severely criticised, formerly very severely, but I do not suppose that it is necessary now to say anything in vindication of this aspect of the action of the Trade Unions. I do not suppose that any serious person would now doubt that these rules, as they have been beneficial to the wage-earners, have also been of great economic value to the whole country, in safeguarding the health and efficiency of the worker.

These are not however the only customs and rules which are intended to protect the worker against over-pressure. This pressure may be exercised in other ways. The wages of the labourer may be, and often are determined by conditions which have a dangerous tendency to induce or compel him to exertions greater than he can normally make without injury to his health and well-being. Wages may be, and are, paid under two systems, under the system of time-rates, that is when the labourer is paid so much by the hour, or day, or week, or under the system of piece-rates, when he receives so much for every article, or for a measured quantity which he produces. In the first case the normal intensity of the work must be secured by oversight, and by the penalty of dismissal if the worker fails or refuses to give the amount of effort which is recognised as normal. In the second case his effort is secured by the fact that it is to his own interest to produce the article or measured quantity in the shortest possible time.

At first sight and to the careless observer it would

seem that nothing more fair or reasonable could be desired than the payment of wages under the piece-rate system, the amount which is earned being exactly proportional to the capacity and industry of the labourer. But the system has two great dangers. In the first place the labourer may easily be led to over-work himself ; the inducement to this is obvious, for the faster he works, the larger is his wage. Let me read you a few words again from Adam Smith upon this matter. "Workmen . . . when they are liberally paid by the piece, are very apt to over-work themselves, and to ruin their health and constitution in a few years. A carpenter in London, and in some other places, is not supposed to last in his utmost vigour, above eight years. . . . Almost every class of artificers is subject to some peculiar infirmity occasioned by excessive application to their peculiar species of work."

In the second place the piece-work rates may be fixed at an amount which is determined by the productive power of the most capable labourer, and thus, while they are sufficient to provide him with a reasonable maintenance, the labourer of inferior capacity may only be able, even by the most strenuous and unremitting exertions, to earn the barest necessities of life. A system which at first sight seems reasonable and equitable may prove to be the method of an intolerable overpressure. The capable labourer must be protected against himself, the average or inferior labourer must be protected against a pressure which, alone and unaided, he is unable to resist.

These are some of the reasons why the system of

piece-work rates was sometimes looked upon with suspicion, and why its establishment has often been opposed by (some) Trade Unions. In many of the most important industries the system has been accepted, but it has been on the condition that the amount of the piece-work rates should be determined not by the masters alone, but by the masters in consultation with the representatives of the Trade Unions. That is, the rates must be fixed at such a point as to give a fair return to a labourer of average power, and to a reasonable intensity of exertion.

I think that you will again agree with me that it cannot be seriously maintained that the principles which have guided the Trade Unionists in this matter are unreasonable, or that their action is unnecessary, but you will also observe that the difficulty of the situation has some relation to the question of the intensity of the labourer's exertions. And we pass here into a more complex aspect of the controversy. The labourer must be secured a fair return for a reasonable intensity of labour, and it is to be desired that he should be discouraged from overtaxing his powers.

You see where we have got to, we have reached a point where we begin to see the appearance of the question of limitation of the highest conceivable output, but I hope that you will also by this time be prepared to understand that some limitation of output, is not only reasonable but necessary, that to allow or compel a labourer to work continually at the highest conceivable strain, would be ruinous to his health and

to his continued efficiency. Limitation of output is a necessity of industry.

This is true under any industrial circumstances, but the need is greatly intensified under modern conditions, that is when the labour power of the man is brought into connection with machinery driven by steam or other power of the same kind. There are no doubt limits to the rate at which machinery can be driven by such power, but these limits are normally far beyond the limits of human powers and endurance. And yet the economic pressure to drive machinery at the highest possible speed is obvious, for the faster it can be driven the larger is the output, and the more economical is the production. You have here, then, the first and most evident case where the labourer must be protected against undue pressure, where there must be a control exercised by the labourers themselves through their Trade Unions on the rate at which the labourer is expected to work.

I do not think that it is necessary to develop this point at greater length here, for the reasonable nature of such action must be obvious to any serious person. I must add however that if we can see the uses of limitation most clearly and easily in the case of machine work, the same considerations also apply when we are not dealing with power-driven machines. The rates at which the normal man is to work normally, cannot be the same as those at which the exceptional man can work, or at which the normal man can work for a short period. And it is a primary function and duty of Trade Unions to protect the normal man from being

overdriven, either by an unreasonable use of the gang system or by any other device.

I think that I have said enough to make clear what are the principles which lie behind the Trade Union regulations, or the customs of the wage-earning class which are intended to protect them against over-pressure and over-work.

I must now turn to those regulations and customs which are intended to protect and maintain the standard conditions of wages and life. For while it is the truth that the Trade Unions have given much of their energy to the task of protecting their members from overwork, it is also true that their most fundamental task is that of securing a reasonable wage, and a great part of the regulations and customs of the industrial world are related to this.

We have lately heard much about the rules determining "demarcation," that is determining what class of labourer shall perform different processes in industry. We have all become familiar with the phrase "dilution," and we understand in a general way that this has to do with the question how far a semi-skilled or unskilled man or woman may be allowed to do some work which has hitherto been done by the skilled workers. And we have heard constant complaints about the reluctance of the Trade Unionists to waive these rules even in times of national crisis and danger. As a matter of fact, as you know, agreements have been made on an immense scale for the suspension of these rules, though these agreements have been made on the express condition that the regulations are to come

into force again when the war is over. We must therefore consider shortly but carefully what is the rationale of these rules. Speaking broadly they exist to protect the standard rates of wages in the various industries or crafts, and it is from this standpoint that we shall have to consider them.

It has often appeared to the careless observer and critic that these regulations are simply unreasonable, that there can be no possible justification for any rules which prohibit any person from doing any work which he is capable of ; and indeed, put in this way, it would seem very difficult to justify or even explain them. And yet the real truth is quite different, and can be recognised by anyone who is willing to take a little trouble to learn and to think.

What are these rules and customs ? There are rules such as those just mentioned, by which certain work is limited to certain classes of men, certain kinds of work may only be done by men who are engineers, or carpenters, or plasterers. There are again rules in some trades that no man may be allowed to practise the trade without having served for so many years as an apprentice ; and again there are strict rules about the proportion of the number of apprentices to the number of journeymen.

It is quite easy to make out an apparently good case against these rules, and indeed they have been the occasion of frequent disputes not only between employers and wage-earners, but also between different sections of the wage-earners. But we must ask ourselves what is the meaning and purpose of the

regulations. To put the matter very briefly and baldly, we may say that they represent the fact that some particular classes or grades of workmen have been able to secure for themselves by means of their organization a certain standard of wages, that is the possibility of maintaining a certain standard of life, and they are afraid that they may lose this. The unskilled or even the semi-skilled man has a lower standard, and his competition, if it is once admitted, may, very likely will, reduce the standard of wages, and thus the standard of life. These regulations are part of the machinery by which the Trade Unions endeavour to maintain and improve the standard of life of their members.

Such is then the rationale and the purpose of the immense complex of regulations and customs of the wage-earners, which the Trade Unions directly or indirectly serve to maintain. It is possible that Trade Unionists have in some measure been affected by the theory of the limitation of the amount of work, the theory that there is at any given moment only a certain amount to do, and that if one man does more, another will have less. It is quite possible that this conception may have had some influence upon their minds, but the regulations or customs which control the output of commodities have their real and sufficient explanation in the need for protection against over-pressure and over-work.

It can hardly be doubted that these customs and regulations may often have been interpreted and applied in fashions which are foolish and mischievous, but in

themselves these customs and regulations are wise and good, nay, more, they are necessary.

We are now in a position to understand the urgency of the question with regard to the re-establishment of these conditions when the war is over. They must be re-established and that for two reasons. In the first place, because the Government and the nation are pledged to do this. They have been to a great extent waived for the present, because of the urgent national need for the greatest possible amount of production, they have been given up, though with hesitation and uncertainty, but only on the express condition and on the solemn promise that they will be restored when the war comes to an end. If we were to fail to carry out this condition it would be a national breach of faith and honour. In the second place they must be re-established because they are required for the protection of the standard of life, and for the health and efficiency of the worker.

They must and will be re-established, and it will be the plain duty of the Trade Unions and an imperative necessity for the country that they should be maintained unless and until some other system of protection can be devised.

We have heard a very lucid and instructive exposition of the point of view from which the customs and regulations relative to the Trade Unions may be regarded by the employer, and I have now endeavoured to put before you briefly their character as they are seen by the Trade Unionist and the wage-earners in general. Where is then the national interest, how should this

question be regarded by those who endeavour to consider primarily the needs and the well-being of the nation ?

I think that you will agree with me that the state of industrial war cannot be good for any of us ; we may disguise it, perchance, with fine-sounding phrases, such as, the advantages of competition, but it would be wiser as well as more honest to recognise that what we are dealing with is a class war. These regulations and customs, as we know them, are incidents of an industrial war. They represent the mutual suspicions, the mutual distrust of classes whose interests, as they see them, are opposed to each other. In the circumstances, under the actual conditions of industrial life, they are necessary and have proved themselves to be very valuable. That they may have often been interpreted and applied unwisely is only what we should expect, human nature being what it is, but in the circumstances they are wise and necessary, and it is clear that the country owes a great debt to the Trade Unions for having devised and maintained them.

It is indeed to the interest of the country that industry should be as productive as possible, that there should be the largest possible output of commodities, but it is obvious that this cannot be maintained unless the wage-earners are healthy and efficient. There is a curious delusion still to be found among many quite well-meaning people that production is independent of distribution, that the cost of maintaining the labourer in health and vigour and intelligence is simply a dead charge upon production, while it is really always

the necessary condition of production. If employers would only understand it, it is to their interest in the long run that the work-people should be well fed, well housed, well educated, provided with pleasure and amusement, and with leisure to enjoy these. Unhappily the history of industry during the last century has made it plain that neither the employers as a whole—there have been great and honourable exceptions—nor the middle-class public have understood this.

It is clear then that even if we look at the matter only from the standpoint of the national economic interest, the Trade Union Regulations and customs have served the national purpose. But it is also true that they are incidents of war, and we do not need to doubt that, as will happen in the most just war, weapons which are legitimate and useful have often been misused or ill-used and that regulations and customs which are, in principle and under the circumstances, wise and necessary, have often been misapplied and misused to the injury not only of the employers but that of the work-people and of the whole nation. The condition of industrial war which has made these regulations and customs wise and necessary has also brought it about that they may often have been misused.

What are we then to say? What are we to hope? I do not want to speak of Utopias, nor even of the remoter future. We are considering the reconstruction of industrial society after the war. We are in danger of the outbreak of a fierce and passionate conflict over

the industrial settlement, and especially over the maintenance of the regulations and customs after they are restored. For they must be restored, but then will come the question of their maintenance or modification.

I have no panacea to offer, I have no short and easy solution. I do not myself doubt that in the long run the whole industrial process must pass much more completely under the control of the community, and that it is only in this direction that we can look for the ultimate solution of our industrial difficulties. For the present I can only see hope in three directions. First, the more complete understanding and recognition by the country of the conditions which have made these regulations and customs necessary. Second, the development of a system of common control and common interests in industrial concerns. Thirdly, the direct protective intervention by the State, to secure reasonable standards of work and life and leisure for the workers.

I hope that we shall understand the conditions better. I think that the industrial classes, both employers and employed, may be willing to try experiments on a large scale in the common control of industry; but I also think that the community as a whole will have to take its courage in its hands, and will have to take up the responsibility of a much larger control of industry than we have hitherto known.

THE NEW SOCIAL CONSCIENCE AS TO USE OF INCOME

BY J. ST. G. HEATH.

THE subject that we are going to discuss to-day is not a new one, it is simply an attempt to add new features to what has been an old friend to many of us for a long time, but I think that we must all have been impressed during the last year by the astonishing interest that has been shown in the whole question of saving. If you went through the files of the newspapers you would find there have been more articles with regard to luxury, simplicity, waste, and thrift during the last nine months than there have been since newspapers came into existence. One gets an amazing mixture in these articles. Sometimes one gets the spirit of Savonarola and sometimes the spirit of Gilbert and Sullivan, and one never knows which it is going to be. The extraordinary suggestions that are flung out in the letters to *The Times*, if they could be all collected together, would make at least entertaining reading, but if anybody had said three years ago that it would be impossible to travel in London, unless you were bandaged round the eyes, without seeing huge posters saying that you should not dress extravagantly, and should not use motor cars, you would have thought that such a person was qualifying for a lunatic asylum.

Yet it does not seem strange to us now, and everywhere one goes one's attention is called to this problem of personal expenditure. And so I want to begin by asking what are the reasons, if one tries to go beneath the surface, for the powerful plea that is put forward in favour of simplicity and against any form of luxurious expenditure.

Let us take first of all the economic argument, which is comparatively simple. It is not just the question of spending money or of saving money, but you have got to go behind that. It is the question of the diversion of labour. For instance, in *The Times* the other day somebody wrote to complain that there was a large house being built in Surrey, and that as a result of this a munition factory near had been depleted of a number of workers, and it was pointed out that this was diverting labour from a national purpose to minister to the comfort of some wealthy individual. And exactly the same thing is true with regard to the excessive number of servants. Every woman who is fit and able is more and more being needed for the different munition factories in the country, and the people who are employing an unnecessary number of servants in their homes are diverting part of the labour that might have been used for another and a national purpose. And similarly with regard to motor cars the chauffeur who drives the motor car might have been employed upon other things, the ships that carry the petrol might have carried other goods, and the rubber that is being used on the tyre is having labour spent on it that might have been used for other purposes. In

the early days of the war, before Conscription was introduced, the hostess in a wealthy house used constantly to drag into her conversation the fact that her butler was over military age ! Even that poor plea is now useless, as the need for men for purposes directly or indirectly connected with the war goes on steadily increasing. If anyone wants a subject for a war novel, I suggest that of a short story written about an eccentric pro-German millionaire, who lives in England and has a vast quantity of American securities. What he could do would be to sell the different securities and employ thousands of people as a retinue for himself and pay them absurdly high wages. The result would be that he could entirely stop the production of munitions anywhere in his neighbourhood and the Government would be powerless to interfere without a special Act of Parliament. That is to say the spending of wealth is diversion of labour from one purpose to another.

That is the pure economic argument, but of course deeper than that lies the moral argument, the moral indignation that is being felt by people at any display of comfort and luxury in England with such a terrible background as the devastation of Poland, Belgium, or Armenia, and the hardships that our own troops are undergoing in the trenches. Of course if one is honest this moral indignation was not just caused by the war, but is a revival or intensification of feelings which they had previously experienced. On my way to Swanwick I noticed on the bookstall an article by Marie Corelli headed "The 'Economy' Farce," in

the magazine called *John Bull*. I stifled my conscience and spent a penny on it. If one had not read books and articles by Marie Corelli before one might have thought that the following quotation from this article represented ideas which she had never felt until the war :—

“As a plain matter of fact, London has never given itself over to a wilder, wickeder orgy of folly, fashion, reckless extravagance and easy morality than at the present moment. With battle, murder and sudden death in the very air, never were the expensive restaurants more crowded ; never was more money wasted on needless delicacies of food—and never was there a more absurd and fantastical riot of outlandish and immodest clothing among women than may be seen at any ‘smart set’ gathering held for such ‘charity’ as truly ‘covers a multitude of sins.’ It is bewildering and amusing ; but there is something terrible about it, too ! Terrible—because the eating, drinking, dancing, gambling section of London society strikes a sharply discordant note against the fighting, bleeding, tortured, suffocating, dying thousands of human beings who, but a short distance away across the Channel, are being slaughtered—while London laughs.”

If you read the columns of *The Times* you can see that here again motives are mixed. For instance, there is the letter that appeared some weeks ago from a clergyman in a Kent village who wrote to protest against the poor travelling in motor ‘buses on Sundays, adding that they did this in church time. I think the indig-

nation was possibly as much against its being in church time as against the waste of petrol. The letters in the newspapers with regard to horse racing show often a curious attitude of mind on the part of the writer. Horse racing, they admit, is a national vice, but such vices, though they do not matter in peace time, should be sternly repressed in time of war. But of course I think that everybody with at all a sensitive conscience, whether they were exercised upon the subject before or not do feel that there is something fundamentally morally wrong in luxury and comfort at the present time. The thought of the disabled soldiers and the thought of all the suffering that is going on has made the public conscience far more acute to the contrasts, and you have only got to converse with officers or men who have come back from the trenches, and are asked to dine at fashionable restaurants in London, to see what a depth of indignation such displays arouse.

Now if you sum this up what it really comes to is that the nation has a united purpose. If we cast our thoughts back to the summer of 1914 England presented a perfect orgy of conflicting purposes. You had labour unrest, strikes, suffragettes, and Ulster, all kinds of purposes conflicting one with another. Now far and away the overwhelming majority of the nation have one common national purpose, and even that minority who differs is a different minority from those of other times, a minority that only differs because of what it believes to be a deeper interpretation of God's will, and not from any of those political differences that were so customary before the

war. So that if we are going to get a new social conscience after the war with regard to the use of income what we shall want clearly is a unified national purpose. And it is a much more complex thing to get national unity in regard to problems at home than it is to get it in regard to war. War is a single, direct, and very old issue, the social problem at home is far more complex. It is profoundly important that the fine spirit that has been awakened in this country should not only be kept alive after the war but should be intensified, and particularly is this true of the social conscience that has been awakened with regard to expenditure. We want to harness all the wonderful idealism that has been aroused and turn it to still deeper and bigger issues. I was shewn a letter the other day from a very well-known statesman in Canada to somebody in England, which ended up with the following words:—

“ You remember once we spoke of working out an industrial programme for the State together. Well, now we must. The first step is to analyse our industrial system, right to the roots, quit talking about Labour and Capital, and talk about human beings with so much physical and mental energy and controlling so much of the power that can command these in the effort to co-operate with the energies and forces of nature in producing the material basis of life, but the material only, while life itself remains also to be satisfied even to the highest spiritual needs. The problem has to be stated in terms of possible conflict between the two, and the means of reconciling it. That there is a material and that there is a spiritual side to life

as a whole and to every human life has to be made clear, and the crime of the world must be stated as the crushing of the spiritual in the effort to increase the material. It is the same thing as this war when you come down to it, just the same, only armies are being maimed and slaughtered silently and obscurely instead of in the open with a world onlooking."

"The crushing of the spiritual in the effort to increase the material!"

And there are a few lines that I would like also to quote from a book by a very well known economist, a man conversant with the whole mechanism of the Stock Exchange, Mr. Hartley Withers, in his book on "Luxury and Waste." In this book, written just before the war, he talks of a new and most exhilarating but very unsettling symptom. "This is the dawn of a belief that no industrial victory can be complete, no material achievement can have reached its goal so long as those who do the hardest work get so mean a share of the good things of the world that they have no chance of life in the fullest sense of the word."

What we need and what I think we may believe we are likely to get is a much greater unity with regard to this fundamental belief of which one witness speaks. We shall be disunited after the war as to the particular ways in which to achieve this aim. However hopeful one is, it is going to be very difficult to get unity with regard to particular kinds of machinery. What I think we ought to hope to get is a national unity on the moral attitude that lies behind it, and this is ultimately far more important than unity with regard to

political machinery. If we could get such a national purpose that we all of us really supremely wanted to give to people such material means as are necessary for the basis of a good life then I think we might look forward to a far greater unity in regard to machinery. This would mean that the upper and middle classes would have to rid themselves of a good deal of unconscious hypocrisy. There is nothing about which it is so easy to deceive oneself as with regard to personal expenditure. It is so difficult for us in the first place to estimate all that we have gained from the possession of wealth. It is a valuable lesson constantly to ask oneself this : " How much of the things that I really value in life should I have missed if it was not for the income that I have ? " Let us take Swanwick as an illustration. I believe that everybody who comes to a place like this gets a real spiritual addition to their storehouse of experience, and yet this is a thing that depends upon the possession of a surplus income. The great mass of the people I live among in Poplar are debarred from this kind of spiritual refreshment. We want to get rid of the idea of a minimum wage as being all that the mass of people need. Let us face up to the fact that all human beings need the things of the spirit which can often only be purchased by money, and that if we get spiritual enjoyment from things like this our aim should be to ensure that the same shall be open to the great mass of human beings.

Now I want to recapitulate those economic arguments that I said were so comparatively easy to understand in war time, and apply them to the social problem

that awaits us after the war. Let us take first the position of the landowner who wishes to build a big house in Surrey after the war. With a change of outlook our social conscience would surely equally condemn a person for building a large house after the war, considering that the mass of people in this country live in houses that are far too small for them, where they have no room for the expression of their personality. Putting aside the extreme cases of people who live in one or two rooms, think of the families who live in even four or five-roomed houses, and contrast them with a person building a house with ten or twelve rooms. There is the diversion of labour. There are the plasterers and plumbers and bricklayers who might have been building these smaller houses, but whose labour is diverted to something that only ministers to the comfort of that particular family. Take again large gardens in towns. There was an article in *The Times* about eight months ago, in which it was said that it is worth pointing out that the reason why the poor have such small gardens is because the rich have such large gardens.

Take again the servant problem. There are one and three-quarter million domestic servants in the country, and the Insurance Act proved the astonishing fact that the people who have three or four servants employ nearly as many servants as the whole of the rest of the nation put together. Now put side by side with that the lot of the ordinary working woman with a large family. She has nobody to help her at all, and yet upon her falls the whole burden of the house,

including the cooking, the washing, and the care of the children. It is the middle and the upper classes who are taking the servants who might have gone to work in small houses to set the mother free for other duties.

Or take the problem of maternity, a problem that is coming home more and more to people, with the need, for instance, of the monthly nurse. We, in our station of life, would regard it as inconceivable that our own wife, at the most critical time in her life, should be without a monthly nurse coming at childbirth, and yet masses and masses of our fellow-women are without such assistance, and the labour that we waste on a surplus of domestic servants is labour that might have been used to assist at childbirth and in the care of infants.

Then take again the consumption of food and think of the amount of labour expended on the preparation of food. Seeböhm Rowntree, in his book on Poverty, has declared that it is possible for an artisan to keep himself in at least bare health on 3s. 6d. a week in peace time. I think we might assume that a person doing brain work could not be kept in health upon that, but I am constantly meeting middle-class people who seem proud of the fact that the average expenditure in their family per head is only 12s. or 15s. per week. And if you study "The Camel and the Needle's Eye," in which Mr. Ponsonby investigated the budgets of his rich relatives, you will see that £1 or even £2 per head per week is not an uncommon thing when you get to the upper ranks. There you have diversion of labour. So we might run through article

after article. It has been estimated, and I have every reason to believe that it is true, that five million people in this country employ half the population in ministering to their wants, that is to say that out of the forty millions five millions, or one-eighth, employ half the population in ministering to their comforts while the remaining half of the country are working to support seven-eighths of the population. Here one gets the diversion of labour on its largest scale. And surely there is no reason whatever to take down a single one of the posters after the war. They might just as well remain up after the war. The argument is equally true that you are diverting 'labour that is needed for national ends.

With regard to the moral arguments. I want to read again that quotation from the Canadian statesman:—"It is the same thing as this war when you come down to it, just the same, only armies are being maimed and slaughtered silently and obscurely instead of in the open with a world onlooking as it is to-day."

Come back again to childbirth. Read that little book called "Maternity, or Letters of Working Class Women," or go to any School for Mothers in any poor district and talk to the people there and realise the enormous amount of preventable suffering that takes place through lack of material things. Or take the whole question of health, including the evidence that has come in from the National Health Insurance Act, and see the amount of preventable sickness that exists, tens upon thousands of people who might have lived healthy lives, but who are in pain and suffering through

lack of good food, medicine, attendance and medical advice, often with bodies crippled and maimed. Think of the tragedy of the spiritual starvation revealed to us by the Workers' Education Association, people hungering for knowledge and unable to satisfy their hunger. It has been often noticed that when people of the middle and upper classes live in poor districts, whether it be in settlements or in private houses, they are never able to spend money with the same serenity that people who live in the West End are able to do, because the contrast between wealth and poverty is always being brought before them. They cannot help regarding as extravagant expenditure what the West End regards as normal, because of the privations which those around them undergo. And surely there will be as much room for moral indignation after the war as there is now in face of the material and spiritual poverty of great masses of our fellow-countrymen. Heaven forbid that there should be any falling off in our moral indignation against luxury after the war. I was walking in Hyde Park the other day with one of the most harmless and peaceable of mortals, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I restrained him from a savage attack on a lady driving a carriage and pair. It came upon him that it was an awful thing at a time like this that she should be doing this, but if we go down deep enough it will be quite as astonishing that people shall do it after the war. Hartley Withers puts it quite plainly in his book that "the extravagance of the rich increases and perhaps causes the poverty of the poor."

Then there is one other lesson from the war that I want to dwell upon. As you know, as part of the national campaign for thrift it has been felt necessary to go down and preach thrift to the very poor. What has interested me is the number of people who have said, "I cannot do that." It is in a way a healthy sign. There is a growing uneasiness about it and they tell me at headquarters that it is difficult to get lecturers to go down to poor districts. People feel, they say, that there is something wrong in preaching thrift to the poor. Why should they feel this? There is incredible waste going on in poor districts. Take the problem of drink alone, or the large sums wasted through mismanagement in cooking, and the throwing away of food. Why should not one frankly go down and preach against this waste to the poor, particularly if one is also doing it in one's own circle and to the rich also? I think that if you question people on this you will discover that at the back of their minds lies the uneasy feeling that the only kind of thrift that you can teach to the very poor is to spend more money in a wise way instead of spending less in an unwise way, and of course that means that it is no use preaching this to the poor in a National Thrift Campaign. It won't help on the war at all to go down and tell the poor that what they ought to be doing is to spend more, and yet if you think out the problem of anyone earning less than £2 a week at the present time all that you can say to them is, "Do not waste your money upon drink and upon food that is not nutritious, but give the children more and better food and better clothing, and protect

them better against sickness that comes from inadequate food. This is at bottom the reason why it is so difficult to preach thrift to the very poor.

This is the dilemma in which we are landed under our present social system. We admit that there is waste among the poor, and yet we find it hard to proclaim it. If you are talking of diversion of labour it is as bad that labour should be wasted in making beer that is not necessary as it is that labour should be wasted in making *pâté de foie gras*. So that one of the lessons of the war will be that if we are going honestly to give the much needed advice in thrift to the poor as well as to the rich we shall have to be very careful to examine ourselves and see that our own lives are built after a true pattern. And we shall have to get rid of that curious fallacy that mixes up waste with the exceeding of one's income. They are two absolutely different things. Let us illustrate that. I have often heard people condemning the miner very severely for buying a piano for his daughter or the servant for buying a bicycle. But it is not a luxury to buy a bicycle or a piano. In any decent community we should feel that every servant should be able to get a bicycle. What makes us angry is that the servant is exceeding her income. One ought not to feel the same kind of moral indignation against this, yet a vast number of people are indignant at what is at the worst a bad adjustment of income.

A new social conscience, too, is needed if we are to cope with the problem of labour unrest after the war. All those who know the labour situation realise that

what we have at the moment is an armistice, a very honourably kept armistice, but no real harmony between the rival and conflicting claims of Capital and Labour. Labour will tell you it is going to fight again, but that it is suspending its hostilities now and is honourably keeping a truce. What underlies the class war is the desire to get material things. The problem of labour unrest is very complicated, but it is clear that the "standard of expenditure" lies far more deeply interwoven in it than the middle and upper classes are often prepared to admit. The woman who leads on her husband to earn large sums of money and the daughters who want large sums of money for their personal pleasure are quite as big factors in the class war as the actual employer of labour, because underneath the class war lies the great pressure that comes from those who want larger incomes and higher dividends. We shall have to face a very serious position after the war. Either the class war is going to increase in intensity or else a real change of heart will have to take place in the people who control industry. It is the conversion of the property-owning classes to a truer moral standard that to my mind is the most crying need if we are going to deal with the problem of class war, because it is these classes who through superior education hold the power in their hands. It is for these people to give way, and one of the problems that makes it so difficult for them to give way is the standard of expenditure. Now what are we going to do? People imagine that this sort of thing is addressed to millionaires, and I want to make it

quite plain that I am not talking to anyone who is a millionaire, but to the ordinary member of the middle class who has an economic surplus, and by an economic surplus I mean the possession of such an amount of money as is not absolutely needed for the good life, and who have to face the problem as to whether to give away the surplus or to spend it upon themselves. I think that the new social conscience with regard to income would start with a kind of resolution like this :—

“ Never to employ on ourselves any labour or services unless we are convinced that for the sake of some purpose that we believe in that we are justified in withdrawing labour from the making of necessities,” always to be keeping in mind that any labour we employ upon ourselves is being diverted from making the necessities that the mass of our people are so greatly in need of.

Now the question naturally occurs, how will this really help the problem of poverty, and it is not very easy at first sight to see this. In the first place if the whole of the upper and middle classes really made this resolution shareholders' meetings would be astonishingly different things from what they are now. The shareholders as an enthusiastic body would meet, and implore the directors or managers to make sure, before the dividends were paid out, employees were getting what they needed for their spiritual life. Think what an enormous relief of mind that would mean to the manager who feels that he must produce the highest dividend possible. Then next if we resolutely refused to spend money on any luxuries we could cer-

tainly save more than we do now. In an interesting book called "Luxury and Waste," by Professor Urwick, doubts are raised as to whether it would be advisable for the upper and middle classes to save more, or whether it would not involve what he calls the "fallacy of endless saving." I believe with Mr. Hartley Withers that it would be one of the best things for the country if those people who had a surplus would save more and not less so long as they keep to the resolution to spend nothing of the increased wealth upon anything that was a luxury. The whole of the capital would either have to be thrown away, which is absurd, or else to go to the better equipment of factories which produce necessities. Therefore, necessities would fall in price as they would be made far more economically than they are at present, and so you would be increasing the purchasing power of the mass of people because the necessities would be much cheaper than before.

In the part of London in which I live, if we had a meeting of social reformers I think I could carry a resolution unanimously that London be burnt, starting at Aldgate, and continuing as far as East Ham. What would be the difficulty about doing that supposing you gave reasonable notice to the inhabitants and had some pantehnicons ready for the furniture? Housing reformers have pointed out for a long time that the solution of the housing problem in the East End lies in a series of very cheap trains and tubes running non-stop trains into the City and a series also of Garden Cities running far into Essex. A well-known builder who came before a Housing Committee on which I

was sitting said in his evidence that he could put up 100,000 houses and let them in less than a fortnight if there could be better provision made for quick transit and if he could get capital at a reasonable rate. Supposing we saved more capital he would set to work to build these houses, and you would have the more sensible people living in the East End of London removing out to these garden cities, the slums would be so largely depopulated and the better houses that would then become vacant in the East End would be filled with the people now living in the slums, while the slums could be burnt or demolished. As a piece of spiritual furniture there is nothing like a garden for the children. It is the lack of capital that stands in the way and the dearness of it.

A resolute refusal on the part of the upper and middle classes to spend any money on luxury would keep the social problem in another way, also by bringing about a new attitude towards taxation. The great man who founded Toynbee Hall, Canon Barnett, was never weary of saying that God loveth a cheerful taxpayer, adding that He could not have many people to love ! The attitude of so many of us is that we require all that we have in order to keep up our standard of life, whereas if we gave up luxuries we should be saying to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as men are saying at the present time, " Please tax us more."

And then lastly, there is the problem of giving money away. It is an unfortunate thing in a way that about forty or fifty years ago the Charity Organisation Society in its tremendous efforts to get rid of

the frightful curse of charity in the form of doles given without any enquiry left quite large numbers of people of that era under the impression that you could not really give money away at all wisely, and this became a kind of philosophy of an extremely comfortable nature. Now giving away money can be a fearful curse, but under present conditions there is no doubt that any amount of money might be given away wisely if people took as much care in studying how it could be done as an officer, for instance, takes in reading up military tactics. Take scholarships. There is no reason why anybody should not go to the nearest secondary school, and ask if there is any boy there who has failed to utilise a scholarship which he has won owing to the parents' inability to meet the expenses involved. You could give away twenty millions to-morrow without any demoralisation or any harm at all being done. Or take research, for instance. The papers are agreed that there is not enough being done in regard to research at the present time. It is perfectly open to anybody to endow a research scholarship. And then there are all the experimental societies of every kind, such as, for instance, the Little Commonwealth, where Mr. Homer Lane has taught us how to turn criminal boys into law-abiding citizens. Countless experiments of this nature are being starved for lack of money.

But the question may be asked if we do not buy luxuries what will happen to those who are employed upon them, and will they not be thrown out of work. Two or three years ago this question was constantly

asked and there were real difficulties to be faced. Men would have been thrown out of work and would have suffered not a little. But a change in our expenditure after the war would involve far less difficulty just because the whole economic life of the nation has been so dislocated, that it is open to thousands and thousands of people to take up a new trade after the war. The Bishop of London said that he hoped that man servants would disappear after the war altogether, and his wish is not unlikely to become true. And let us be careful when we say that we must go on with what we used to buy in order to employ people that we are not hypocritical. When we see a number of drivers of horse cabs and taxies side by side do we always take the cabs and go slowly? Modern civilisation has been incredibly brutal in this respect, and we have only asked if we are likely to displace anyone when we wished to find an excuse for continuing to buy luxuries. If we had this changed social conscience we should give up luxuries and strive at the same time through State action to ensure that if any were thrown out of work they should not suffer, but should be trained to labour at the new work which would be created by the increase in the demands of the mass of people for more necessary goods.

And finally a few words as to the problem of the possible decline in art and beauty. Many people are somewhat anxious on this score, but I hold with Ruskin and with Morris that if we freed the mass of people from the blind struggle for existence, we should spend tenfold what we now spend upon art. It is hard to

get accurate figures on this matter, but if we said that 1 per cent. of the annual expenditure of England was spent upon artistic things we should probably if anything make an over-estimate. The way to test it is to go down any of our main streets and look in at the shop windows and see how much we can find that is really artistic, and even in so-called artistic production there is a great deal wasted. Take, for instance, the extravagant remuneration that is paid for singers. We get into the habit of paying singers and artists much larger sums than are needed for the spiritual development of such people, and thanks to these large salaries, it often becomes impossible for poorer people to listen to them. And we might do far more in the creation of beautiful things through civic or national action. You remember how proud Pericles was of Athens because its inhabitants lived simply in their private life and spent their money magnificently on public buildings. In the borough of Poplar, with 160,000 people, there is only one house that gives any sense of joy to look at it and that was built by a mistake.

What we want is a new social conscience with regard to expenditure and an outlook that is neither ascetic nor Puritanic, but a new social conscience based on the feeling that we are fellow-members of a body corporate, and that our spending affects the lives and happiness of other people. But behind it, as behind everything else, there must lie a deeper religious and personal appeal. We shall never get this awakened social conscience unless we get back to the still more funda-

mental truth that an excess of material possessions cumbereth the soul, and hinders its real development ; and we can never too often insist upon this old-fashioned truth. And such a new social conscience would have far-reaching effects. It would, for instance, be inconceivable that men should will to make a fortune in order that their children should be freed from the necessity of earning a living. If you ask me who in my time at Oxford were the really happy people I should say that nine-tenths of them were people who knew they had to earn their own living, and who enjoyed preparing themselves for the task. We are told that in America some millionaires have learnt this lesson, and are leaving their money to enrich the nation instead of demoralising their children. We need to re-read the New Testament in the light of an awakened social conscience, remembering too that the great strength and power of the New Testament comes not so much from its idealism as from its greater common sense. It is because Jesus Christ looked right down into the heart of man and saw the real relation between the soul and material comfort that the New Testament is so vital and full of reality. Because our outlook is small and narrow we think that we need spacious houses and rich material adornment. But if we had a true hold on God we should find all the spaciousness that we need in becoming what Plato once called a spectator of eternity.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

BY MISS MARGARET BONDFIELD.

THE subject of my lecture is far too big to be covered by one lecture or even a dozen, but I do want if I can to give a survey of the question not only from the point of view of women but in its relation to the larger question of the working-class life. And in order that we might get the right perspective I want you to picture in your own minds the general condition in respect of wages and prices in the last fifty years. I have in my hand a paper which was submitted to the Royal Statistical Society by George H. Wood, in which there is a very able analysis of real wages in relation to the standard of comfort since 1850, in which it is stated that

“The following table conveniently summarises the movements in the chief periods :—

	Wages. Per cent.	Prices and Rent. Per cent.	Real Wages. Per cent.
1850-54 to 1873-77	+41	+11	+32
1873-77 „ 1880-84	- 4	- 7	+ 3
1880-84 „ 1900-02	+21	- 8	+32
1873-77 „ 1900-02	+17	-14	+36
1850-54 „ 1900-02	+70	- 5	+80

This, it should be observed, is the maximum progress, and has not been enjoyed by the operative

whose industrial grade has remained unchanged. Taking a group of typical workpeople, e.g. cotton spinners, weavers, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, building labourers, engine fitters, smiths, strikers, labourers, shipwrights, compositors, lithographers, cabinet-makers, coal-miners, puddlers, etc., etc., and making no allowance for the constant tendency to leave the ill-paid occupations for the more remunerative, we find that the advance of wages is nearly 50 per cent., and the reduction in the prices of commodities other than rent being almost counterbalanced by the advance in rent, the net advance is just over 50 per cent. The improvement in the standard of comfort due to the "shifting up" of industrial employment is therefore some 30 per cent., while the remaining 50 per cent. is due to advances of wages in the occupations considered separately and to the reduction in the cost of living."¹

I want you to remember that in the pre-war period for the general mass of the workers there was a tendency to leave ill-paid occupations to go to better paid occupations, so for the group from which we get the most regular returns, i.e. the best organised workers and the best organised employers, there is a steady improvement in the standard of working-class comfort. But it is admitted that that applies only to the better organised and the more skilled classes of workers. At the very time when those figures applied and quite truly applied to the people about whom statistics are available, we have also another set of facts which shows that just immediately before the

¹ *Real Wages and the Standard of Comfort*, p. 9, G. H. Wood.

war the average wage of the industrial woman worker was estimated to be 10s. 5d. per week, the average wage of the same class of male worker was about 25s. So that we have to bear in mind that while it is perfectly true that prior to the war there was a real advance, a tendency to reduce prices and to increase wages and that the real comforts of the masses of people were increased, we still had a large proportion of sweated people, a large proportion of ill-regulated trades where the wages of men were bad and of women infinitely worse.

I want now to ask you to fix your attention upon the statistics of women's employment. What is the size of the problem that we have to consider? Statistics have been worked out by Miss B. L. Hutchins which show that the total number of women in the last census returns was 11,518,815. Of these 5,717,537 were returned as married women, making a percentage of 49·6 of married women.

Age.	Total Women.	Married Women.	Per cent. Married.
15 . . .	1,638,621	25,392	1·6
20 . . .	1,648,278	447,885	27·2
25 . . .	2,769,886	1,781,022	64·3
35 . . .	2,064,062	1,549,643	75·1
45 . . .	1,505,982	1,061,938	70·5
55 . . .	1,035,305	589,380	56·8
65 . . .	598,138	220,292	36·8
75 . . .	258,543	41,985	16·2
All over 15	11,518,815	5,717,537	49·6

We see that the proportion of women under 25 married is small, but from 25 onwards it is considerable, and from 35 it amounts to three-fourths; from 45 the percentage declines with advancing years. A large number of women survive their husbands and are left widows, partly because they are usually married at an earlier age, partly because their death-rate is lower. The proportion of widows is considerable up to 35. We then get the following :—

Age.	Percentage Widowed.	Age.	Percentage Widowed.
35	6·4	65	52·1
45	15·8	75	72·6
55	31·4		

But if you divide the groups in another way, amalgamating the widowed and single women and compare them with the married women, omitting girls under 20, we get a return like this :—

	Married.	Per cent.	Not married.	Per cent.
			(i.e. single & widowed.)	
All ages over 20	5,692,145	57·6	4,188,049	42·4 ¹

People have a very loose way of thinking that married women need not be considered as an industrial factor because they are provided for by marriage. We want to analyse that just a little further. It is quite true that a proportion of women leave the industrial market on marriage. Between the ages of 25 and 35 we get the largest proportion of women who are maintained other than by work in the industrial arena, but

¹ B. L. Hutchins' *Statistics of Women's Life and Employment*, p. 9.

just in proportion as we advance in the age group so we find these married women going back again into industry, severely handicapped by the period in which they have been out of industry. We find that the average life of marriage is about twenty years, in fact the maximum life of marriage is twenty years—the average is very much less than that. Before a woman marries she goes into industry, she earns a bare subsistence wage ; she may, if she is lucky, reach a competence which enables her to be self-supporting. She marries, she leaves industry for a period of years, she goes back into industry again, crippled by loss of skill and the fact that she has been squeezed out by younger women. A very large number of widows have to re-enter the industrial world. They have very often dependants in addition to themselves to support and their latter end is considerably worse than the first. So that we have to consider not merely the single women in industry but also the widowed woman, who is a considerable factor in industry and, as we shall see presently, we shall now have to consider the married woman whose husband is alive and who may or may not be working.

On the outbreak of war there was a very serious dislocation of industry ; certain trades went absolutely to the wall, other trades struggled on for a little while until changes could be made in the nature of the business, but gradually a re-allocation of work took place and large numbers of the women who were employed in luxury trades were drafted off to war industries. It has been customary to talk as though

millions of new women workers have come into industry. I do not believe that is so. I think the proportion of quite new people who have come into industry, who were not in touch with industrial life before, is exceedingly small. I doubt if it is 9 per cent. What happened was that large numbers of people left one form of industry and went into the war work. The dressmakers were the first to feel the blow. Large numbers went into munitions or into tailoring. It was then found that the need for labour in certain employments became very vital indeed from the point of view of the State. There was the great campaign for more shells and there was an ill-considered call made for women to come forward and do munitions. The response to the Women's War Service Register was really rather extraordinary under the circumstances. About 42,000 women entered their names to be employed on war work, but out of 42,000 I believe the Labour Exchanges were able to place 2,000 at the outside. It was not that appeal which caused the change. The change took place in a much more gradual way, and fortunately for the workers concerned with a little more thought and planning than that perfectly crazy rush of all sorts of people to do war work.

In the spring of 1915, the question of the dilution of labour began to be acute. Then we had those Treasury Conferences between the representatives of organised Labour and the Ministry, and, as usually happens in conferences of that kind, Labour came off second best in the deal. Labour undertook to give up certain

privileges. Labour undertook practically to lay down its most effective weapon, in return for which the Ministry undertook to provide safeguards in the introduction of women's labour on work which had been previously done by men. The Women's Trade Union League called a very representative conference of the affected trades and the various unions catering for women came together, under the presidency of Mary R. Macarthur, and passed a series of resolutions. The Conference declared that all women who undertook war service or took the place of men on war service should immediately join their appropriate trade unions, and that through these organisations they should demand that where a woman is doing the same work as a man the principle of equal wage should be rigidly maintained. Those were the main principles discussed, and we had more or less effective undertakings on the part of Ministers that these main provisions should be observed as far as possible. The first area of attack was the engineering trade. The women were introduced into the various processes ; there was a very large increase in the number of automatic machines. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the National Federation of Women Workers took joint action and stipulated that there should be a minimum wage for learners on these machines. After some consideration it was agreed that there should be a definite minimum of £1 a week for learners, that no woman should touch a machine which had been previously operated by a man at a less wage than £1 a week, that as soon as they had learned to operate a

machine they should be put on piece-work process, they should have the same overtime rates, they should have the same allowance for night work or Sunday work as was allowed for the men ; if they were working on premium bonus system they were to have the same time allowances as for the men. The Munitions Department agreed to those conditions and they were embodied in recommendations from the Ministry to the controlled firms employing women. We then had six months' severe struggle to secure the carrying out of these recommendations. The recommendations were not issued in printed form until October, 1915. It was nearly fifteen months from the time that the thing was first discussed before the recommendations were made mandatory. Quite naturally the delay created a great deal of dissatisfaction and unrest and it was only by an issue of the mandatory order, February, 1916, that a little of that unrest was allayed.

Simultaneously with this movement to try and secure a decent working basis for women engaged on work done by men, the National Federation of Women Workers were faced with another problem, i.e. work done by women before the war. Here, again, there were no standards and we tried to secure standards. A great many of these operations were very similar ; there was only a technical distinction very often between the process which was women's work and the process which was men's work. We decided, therefore, to approximate as nearly as we could to the terms of what is called Memorandum L2, and in order to make a little distinction, instead of asking for £1 a

week we asked for a minimum of 5d. per hour. We had varying success and unsatisfactory results, as while the workers were bound by severe penalties to observe their side of the contract, the Ministry was in no hurry to enforce its side of the bargain. Eventually the special Wages Tribunal was set up. Any dispute which could not be settled by the workers and employers must be referred to the special Tribunal for arbitration, and it must be referred within twenty-one days of the date on which the claim had reached the Board of Trade. The claim has to go through this process. First of all the workers formulate their claim, the Union then makes the claim on the employer, the employer ignores it. We write a firmer letter, the employer then replies that he cannot consider the claim. We refer it to the Committee on Production and that department writes to the employer suggesting local conference. The employer then sends an alteration of the claim, concedes a little perhaps. That comes back to us from the Committee on Production. We submit it to our members. They refuse the alternative proposals. Finally it is referred by the Committee on Production to the Wages Tribunal. When the case is called we are summoned to give evidence before the Tribunal. We have had to wait weeks, sometimes two or three months for the decision. We had claims put in last October that were heard by the Wages Tribunal in May, 1916: we had awards in June. So this kind of thing has been going on and every time we secured a little advance we saw headlines in the newspapers about tremendous wages paid

to women. However, we did succeed in getting a minimum rate established in nine or ten of the leading engineering firms. In Case A, we had a very interesting award. The women were engaged in making nibblers and jig-saws. We claimed a minimum of 4d. per hour for learners and a minimum of 5d. per hour for machinists, with an extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for dope workers. We had the full award in that case.

In another branch of the war work, the making of electric lights, arc lamps, and so on, the time wages were low and there was a tendency to place older women at a disadvantage. Also there was no extra pay for overtime. We asked that there should be a steady time rate fixed. We claimed that all girls under 16 should be paid 13s. per week, from 16 to 17, 15s. per week ; from 17 to 18, 17s. per week, and from 18 to 20, 20s. per week. The award we secured is : Under 16, 3d. per hour ; 16 to 17, $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour ; 17 to 18, 4d. per hour ; 18 to 20, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour.

In Case B, a very big group of workers was affected. The wages were extremely erratic and were below the standard demanded by the Federation. A great many of the women were employed on operations which came under L2, and we secured its enforcement. Also a considerable number of women were employed on "women's" work and their wages were particularly bad. We asked for the usual 5d. an hour and the graded scale for girls below 18 years of age. We secured as the award : 16 and under 17, $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour ; 17 and under 18, 4d. per hour ; 18 and over, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour ; all working in the danger zone receive $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per

hour extra. At the time of the claim the wages paid were : 17 to 18, 10s. per week ; 18 to 19, 11s., and over 21, 14s. per week, so you see we brought up the wages in that firm very considerably. It meant some thousands of pounds a year. One of the pleasing features of these awards is that we have secured recognition of payment for waiting time. In a great many places it has been customary (very often due to bad organisation of work or bad methods in the shop), to keep people waiting for work both on night and day shift. As a means of bracing up the organisation of the shop as well as for the benefit of the workers, we secured a clause which laid it down that there must be payment for waiting time when the girls were kept idle through no fault of their own.

There are a great many other awards but they are all round about the 4½d. per hour. When you recall the pre-war average wage of 10s. 5d. and you think of the standard we are getting now, it must be admitted that on that side of the account we have secured an improvement. We have raised the level of what women themselves think they are worth per hour. But that is only one side of the case. Against that you have to put the steady increase of prices which has nullified all our efforts to increase the purchasing power of the workers.

In his speech at the Economy Conference held not long after his daughter's wedding, Mr. Asquith gave us some interesting statistics of wages and the increase in prices. We knew that large groups of workers had secured increases in wages but the average as worked

out by the official estimates was that $4\frac{1}{2}$ million workers had received since the beginning of the war an increase in wage rates amounting to 3s. 6d. per week. In the same speech, the Prime Minister told us that during that time the cost of living had increased by a general average of 40 per cent.

You must remember that a large proportion of the women's total income must necessarily go in food, a very large proportion indeed, and therefore food prices have fallen most heavily upon the lowest paid classes of workers. The result has been that while we have been struggling for nearly two years to try and secure a minimum wage for women's work in war time where the profits are guaranteed to the employers, we have not been able to keep pace with the cost of living, and while we are still clamouring for 5d. an hour the cost of living has gone up so that, according to the Board of Trade official figures for June, the purchasing power of the sovereign in food is reduced to 12s. 4d. That is a very serious matter. We have to realise on the whole workers are considerably worse off to-day, notwithstanding the figures that are given of increases in the rates of wages.

There is another problem, and that is the question of hours of labour. The Ministry has demanded a greater output. The energy and vitality of the workers have been used up at an alarming rate; night work for women, boys and girls has been introduced, many of the protective laws have been suspended, and above all, I think the worst thing that has happened is the deliberate action of the Minister of Munitions to do

away with the eight-hour shift system, substituting a two-shift system. That is disastrous from the point of view of the women's health and we deplore it more than we can say. The workers have loyally tried to abide by their side of the agreement with the Ministry, and we do bring this charge most seriously that the Ministry's side of the contract has not been fulfilled. We feel that the alteration from the eight-hours to the twelve-hours shift is bad not only from the point of view of the girls but from the point of view of output. The girls themselves say they cannot keep up the speed which it was possible for them to maintain during the eight-hours shift. We have, therefore, to bear in mind that not only are the women workers no better off in spite of the slight increase in wages but they are definitely worse off with regard to the diminished energy, the state of fatigue in which many of these women find themselves.

There are many other difficulties owing to the transference of labour from one district to another. The housing question has become acute, the feeding of the people has become acute also, and in many of the districts where the women are working exceedingly hard only the beginnings have been made in proper accommodation. We have to give credit to bodies like the Y.W.C.A. and others for excellent work in trying to provide canteens for some of the workers. There seems, however, to have been lack of foresight in this whole matter of providing proper accommodation. Some of the new works have been placed in the middle of a field. In the plans no thought has been given to

the matter of accommodation for the workers. Subsequently it has dawned on the management that there is no place in which workers may eat their food—sometimes even no food to eat! Much may be forgiven those men who fail to think of everything at once in these times. We do not expect them to think of everything at once, but a great deal of trouble would have been prevented if they had allowed others, who were competent and willing, to do these things. The Ministry has started a Welfare Department. Sir George Newman's committee have issued some common-sense leaflets that recommend the three shift system, the provision of overalls, and many excellent reforms, but these recommendations are not acted upon. We have illustrations of what can be done. Take the Woolwich Arsenal. One section has a model shed, beautiful canteen, beautiful dining-rooms, a kitchen which might be the envy of any chef, everything is clean and spick and span. On the other side of the Arsenal, they have as much difficulty to get food as they had when the war broke out. In one district, workers will be splendidly provided for, in another district nothing will be done. So when you hear contradictory stories you may be certain that all are true. It is true that workers are well cared for. It is equally true that there are places where the women are still sweated and treated with a kind of savage indifference which it is almost impossible to describe. So we have every sort of extreme in the industrial world to-day as far as women's wages and conditions are concerned.

But there is another problem cropping up and demanding attention. It is in connection with the employment of married women. Many married women want to go out to work. Employers want to get cheap labour. Some employers think these married women will be less difficult to manage than the single women or widows, but some of them are unhappy about the children, so a great campaign is starting in favour of day nurseries to enable married women to go to work. Among married women themselves there is a great difference of opinion on this matter. Some married women feel that they ought to go out to work and when you ask them their reason they will probably be able to convince you of the soundness of their position. They can thus secure better food and education for the children than by staying at home. That is one side of the problem. But there is another side. Take a place like Darlington. There are large munition factories and women are going out to work on the railway and various other places. There are large numbers of single and widowed women who cannot get employment, and they say: why should the married women go out to work? We have 300 skilled munition workers unemployed in Darlington at the present moment, and they very properly ask this question: Instead of leaving 300 unemployed skilled single women to search in vain for work in Darlington, would it not pay the Government to pay their fares down to Coventry or Woolwich where they still need more labour instead of bringing in a lot of married women who have to be trained?

Then, of course, there is the morale of the home, a very serious question indeed. What is going to happen to those children running about the streets if no provision is made for them? In the crowded areas where the munition works are, it is literally the case of running about the streets. Well, there are two sides even to running about in the streets, but is it really giving the child a fair chance to leave the citizens of to-morrow to bring themselves up in the streets? This question of the married women working is inseparably connected with the problem of the children and the two must be considered together. My own personal view is that there are many women who are competent to work for a wage who are not competent to bring up children. We must evolve ideas of social life whereby the round woman shall be put in the round hole instead of the round woman in the square hole, and the problem we have to consider is how far we are to bring any legal or social pressure to bear upon the married woman either to stay at home or to bring her out of the home. It is so much an individual as well as a social act. I suppose in the long run it is bound up with the bigger and all-embracing question of education—how far we can so develop our social faculties, our moral sense, the collective feeling of each for all and all for each, so that everyone will strive to do the best not only for their own development but also for the development of the society in which they live. And it is only by exchanging opinions, discussing and taking counsel together and consulting the people most concerned that we can get to the bottom

of this problem ; but from the point of view of industrialism there does seem to me to be good reason for securing to the married woman freedom to fulfil her special service to the race.

Supposing for a moment we think of the mother who stays at home ; the laws are very badly framed to meet her needs. Take, for example, maternity benefit. We agitated for the maternity benefit to be included in the Insurance Act. The working women roused the country to the need of the married mother. The benefit was included and the speeches responsible statesmen made were to the effect that this maternity benefit was to be every mother's benefit—that in the insurable group the mother would get 30s. when a child is born. What happens now, according to the recent Davidson judgment ? It was given in favour of Ruth Davidson in the lower court and against her in the Court of Appeal. According to the decision of the Court of Appeal, a married woman, a woman who leaves her employment because she is about to become a mother, can be suspended by her society. Because she cannot prove that she is under contract of service and because she cannot prove that employment is waiting for her after the birth of the child, she is not entitled to maternity benefit. Few pregnant married mothers will be able to prove contract of service. The case is different if she refuses to marry until after the child is born ; in that case the law presupposes she will go back to employment after the birth of the child.

What we have to face, therefore, is that in view of the development of industry with the probability that

after the war a larger number of women are going to stay in industry, we must reconstruct our social life with regard to the care of motherhood and the care of childhood. We want a Ministry of Health. We have to see that if we must have public crèches they shall be municipal crèches. We want to prevent the grip of the employer on the working woman increasing more than it is at the present time. We want to secure that sense of freedom in life which is after all the greatest possible thing that we can strive for.

So in summing up I would say that as an immediate after the war programme we want the establishment of an eight hour working day, we want a minimum wage of not less than £1 a week for women of 18, but that £1 a week must be related to the cost of living. We want to have a wages scale rising above the minimum in proportion to the work done. Under a Ministry of Health there must be developed a system which shall try to preserve health and not merely mend up broken down people and which shall reach from the pre-natal period to old age. There are other important items, e.g. housing, unemployment, etc., about which I have no time to say anything. I am glad to tell you that the women are developing a stronger sense of corporate action, but while we are building up our trade union structure we want the help from outside of a strong sturdy public opinion which will not merely express itself in words but which will translate those words into action by backing up the legitimate claims of the workers for more joy, for more health, more sanity in industry.

THE NEW OUTLOOK OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

BY MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

"When the war comes to an end, when the reign of peace is re-established, we shall have to take stock as an Empire of our internal relations. . . .

"It will never be possible in my judgment to revert to our old methods of counsel and of government. . . ."

THIS significant and prophetic utterance may well set the keynote to the discussion of my subject, the "New Outlook of the Woman's Movement."

Spoken by the Prime Minister on the occasion of his speech at Ladybank on June 15, these words foreshadow an era of constitutional reconstruction after the war. The nature of this constitutional reconstruction (Mr. Asquith suggests) is to be a matter for the deliberation of a Conference of representatives from the self-governing Dominions of the Empire ; and its purpose is to extend the spirit of democracy as a ruling principle of communal life as it has never before been extended in the history of the world.

To some of us who have witnessed with dismay the decline of popular liberty during the last two years of the European war such a vision may well seem to be a dream. A dream it may be, but a dream that can

become a reality if allied with the forces of human faith and human will. To bring such a vision into the realm of human accomplishment should call for enthusiasm and devotion far greater than the enthusiasm and devotion that could be called forth by any vision of world conquest or world power. There is no doubt that a great democratic Commonwealth, such as the Prime Minister foreshadowed in his speech, would be the most potent influence of which we can conceive, for the peace that is founded upon liberty and justice ; and liberty and justice, not force and armaments, are the real foundations of national and international security.

An editorial article in the *Nation* of June 17, seizes upon the significance of this suggestion and deals with it in trenchant words.

" . . . Democracy is an international idea and its advance moves across frontiers in broad waves. The biggest step towards European Peace would be the complete democratization of Germany, and in particular the reform of the Prussian Three-Class Franchise. Every step which we take will hearten the reformers in Germany, as every step which they take will prepare the way for the obliteration of the bitter past. The same thing is true of Russia, which is burdened with a franchise system based on the Prussian model.

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" Side by side with these older constitutional problems we would place the political emancipation of women. That also is an international idea, and

our adoption of it may set the model for Europe. An exhausting war is commonly followed by a world-wide period of reaction. It lies with our will to break that tradition. . . ."

"It lies with our will to break that tradition." To educate, to weld and to temper that weapon of the human will is the very purpose of such a Congress as this in which we are now assembled.

We are sometimes inclined to speak of destiny as a force that works outside the sphere of human cognition. The force of destiny can only work through the mind and will of the living generations of humanity. If civilization is to rise and not sink as a result of this war it must be by our collective determination to cast from us all sloth of mind and body, all weakness of purpose and will, as we set ourselves resolutely to refashion the fabric of communal and intercommunal life. It is only by the rising of a great spiritual tide of reverence for human life, only by a deepened consciousness of human brotherhood, and a revitalised passion for human liberty, that the great controversies that have torn and rent the nations of the world in past times of peace, and that have engendered the misery and destruction of war, can be solved. Amongst these great problems must be placed, as the editor of the *Nation* so truly realises, the question of women's complete emancipation.

"It will never be possible to revert to our old methods of counsel and of government." No! for the world as we knew it before 1914 has passed away. The war has swept over it and has left a tract of ruins.

Much that was beautiful has gone, and much, too, that was ugly and outworn. Old prejudices, hoary traditions and ancient lies have scattered like dead leaves before the fury of the storm. The pride of domination, the ruthlessness of material force divorced from spiritual apprehension, have been recognised as the evil things that they are. In the world that has to be reconstructed after the war by the living generation of humanity, domination as a principle in communal life must go, whether it be the domination of militarism, or the domination of money, or the domination of race, or the domination of class, or the domination of sex. For all domination springs from the same evil root whose ultimate fruit is war. And of all dominations the most evil and the most far-reaching is the age-old domination of sex, that has engendered the physical, mental, moral and spiritual enslavement of women. I do not say this primarily as a woman. To me the question of women's emancipation is not a sex question. It is a human question. It concerns the race. It is the vital next process in human evolution. Until it is attained the ascent of the human race is blocked.

The emancipation of women of which the political emancipation is only the initial act signifies the birth of part of the soul of humanity into the social consciousness of the world. Until that birth is accomplished, we do not know the possibilities of growth of which the human species is capable. For this reason the release of the soul of womanhood into the life of the great human Commonwealth is the end for

which every man who is a lover of humanity should strive as eagerly as any woman. This fact the Commonwealths within our Empire have recognised. Australia and New Zealand have established a human democracy in which men and women enjoy an equal share. Since the outbreak of the war three great Provinces of Canada have followed suit. And in every part of the world public-spirited and patriotic statesmen are ranging themselves upon the same side. The Mother country cannot remain untouched by the influence of this new national expression of the democratic spirit. The more closely the tie is drawn between the component parts of the Empire the more inevitable it will be that the franchise shall be extended on the common basis of full citizen rights for all adult men and women.

A great political opportunity has arisen in this country for the immediate carrying out of this reform. The political situation in its bearing upon the subject of our discussion to-day is so extraordinary and so interesting that I think you will excuse me for dealing with it in some detail.

The whole question of the basis of our national franchise system has suddenly appeared as a question of immediate practical politics. And with it the issue of women's enfranchisement, relegated with all other matters of internal politics to the background at the beginning of the war, has suddenly reappeared as a vital political issue. This situation has arisen owing to the fact that millions of men in this country, including all men who have fought at the Front, will find themselves debarred from exercising the franchise

at the next General Election unless a Bill enabling them to vote is passed by the present Parliament.

Not only soldiers and sailors are threatened with disfranchisement, but also hundreds of thousands of munition workers who have been transferred by the Government from their homes and concentrated in special areas for the purpose of carrying out national work. It is plainly to be seen, therefore, that if any Election should take place before a Bill dealing with these extraordinary anomalies should be passed, our representative system would be turned into a farce.

Both the great political parties are clamouring for immediate Government action. The Liberal War Committee and the Unionist War Committee are plainly asking for a Bill which shall give the vote to every man who has fought in the war either by land or by sea. The munition workers, the railway transport workers and those engaged in starred national occupations will not submit of course to any differentiation in treatment, and the only practical way of dealing with the matter as far as the men are concerned, is a Bill practically to give Manhood Suffrage.

The Prime Minister has promised a statement. The *Times* has begun to threaten, a sure sign things are about to happen. The concluding sentence in the leading article of May 31 makes the position of the *Times* very clear.

" . . . No one will be unreasonable if the Prime Minister will say that the Government intend to do

the right thing and to lose no time about it. Otherwise the Government must expect some very strong and natural hostility. . . ."

I have said that the munition workers and railway transport workers would not consent to see the soldiers and sailors placed upon a different basis of citizenship from themselves. And what about the women of the country who, in the munition works, the factories, the hospitals and the homes of the country have given national service as devotedly as the men? This is the time and this is the opportunity for a comprehensive Measure of Franchise reform, destroying at one sweep the anomalies that have complicated our Franchise System, and endorsing for the first time wholeheartedly the principle of democracy by admitting men and women to the Franchise upon the basis of their common humanity, thus placing the constitutional status of the people of the Mother country on the same basis as that enjoyed by the people of the self-governing Dominions of Australia and New Zealand and parts of Canada.

Such action on the part of the Government at home would prepare the way for a great Conference after the war of our self-governing communities. For strange indeed would be the anomaly of a Conference where the representatives of the Dominions Overseas stand for their country's Manhood and Womanhood, while the representatives of the Mother country stand only for the male half of the population. You cannot, as Abraham Lincoln once said, have a great liberty-loving people half slave and half free. The emancipa-

tion of women has become an imperial question of immediate importance.

From the purely national point of view, the necessity of the inclusion of women in the body politic has become more urgent since the war than it ever was before. That we are passing through a great crisis in the nation's life no one will deny. That crisis will not be ended with the ending of the war. Ideas, institutions, habits of life, all are in the melting-pot. In addition to the old social problems which the coming of peace after the war will intensify, new problems await us and demand solution as the price of national well-being. The altered conditions of Industry and the influx of women into trades and occupations hitherto monopolised by men (due, let it be remembered, to the fact that they have been called to these occupations in the name of their country's need) have created intricate situations that when peace is restored will call for very wise and delicate handling. Unless the point of view of women finds due expression as well as the point of view of men, no satisfactory adjustment of these difficulties is possible.

Upon the nation as a whole and in a special sense upon women, whose main business it is to nurture human life, will fall the burden and responsibility of giving provision and care to hundreds of thousands of those who have been maimed and shattered by war. Upon the nation, and in a special sense upon women, will fall also the task of repairing the wastage of humanity, of saving human life and of securing the health and development of the young.

By women a new demand must in future be met in addition to the immense demand that in the past has always been made upon the motherhood of the nation. And it is meet that with this new demand there should be given to those upon whom the community is so dependent the status of citizenship. Evidence there is in plenty that the hearts of men have been moved by the undreamed of capacities for public service that have been demonstrated by the women of to-day, who, in despite of blind criticism and of cruel opposition have, during recent years, insisted upon freeing themselves from the trammels of dependence, thus acquiring the self-reliance and the strength that have so greatly increased the value of their devotion to their country.

To such love as women have ever shown, both to the individual and the race, can men still grudge the power that can make it effective as a force in the development of the human Commonwealth ?

When peace comes it will find even the victorious nation deeply wounded and broken both in body and in spirit. Can men who during the war have experienced in their darkest hours the sustaining strength of women refuse to untie their politically fettered hands ? Will they not rather clamour for women to be set free to bind up the wounds of humanity ?

A period of social reconstruction must follow the present destruction of war. Unless the men and women of the nation together lay the foundation of the new social order, the structure will be insecure. Do not let us fail to recognise that the social misery and widespread poverty which weaken the people of this

country are very largely due to the fact that during the period of reconstruction that followed the Napoleonic Wars the working classes were kept outside the Franchise, and were deprived of any voice in shaping the new conditions brought about during the middle of the nineteenth century by the enormous increase of commercial prosperity and development.

When we have pleaded the urgent need of women to be allowed to express their point of view through the vote, we have sometimes been met by the objection that votes for working men have not saved the working classes from the grossest inequalities, injustices and hardships. The reply to that objection is, in so far as it is true, that votes for working men came too late. They came after the re-organisation of society had become crystallised, after the competitive commercial system had fastened its roots deep into the institutions of the country. A system once established cannot be swept away save by great cataclysms. It has needed a war to make the country see that the private exploitation of national wealth, that monopolies of land or mineral wealth, or credit, or railways, are wasteful and perilous to the nation. History will repeat itself. Great changes in our social and economic and even our domestic institutions will take place, and traditions and customs will give way before new necessities; and unless women, as one half of the sovereign people, have full power to express their point of view and their will in all these matters, a system of life radically unsound and unworkable will crystallise, and it will need revolutions or wars to

sweep away the evils which must result inevitably from such a maladjustment. For the sake of national security let us see to it that there shall be no repetition of the mistake that was made a hundred years ago.

We have dealt with this question as an immediate issue of national and imperial importance. Let me add one word as to its world-wide significance. The release of the mind and the soul of womanhood into the social consciousness of humanity is the ultimate hope of the redemption of the world from the curse and destruction of war. Men who are primarily concerned with the organisation of the world's resources and wealth are necessarily divided by many conflicting interests and avocations. Women who are primarily concerned with the nurture of human life have, broadly speaking, one common interest and one common avocation, the tending of human life in every stage of its dependence. In the solidarity of the world's motherhood is rooted the solidarity of the human race. A young soldier when asked the other day what was the outstanding impression made upon his memory by the experience which he had undergone during the war, replied, "The cry of the boys calling out for their mothers after the guns had ceased firing." The language of this cry is universal—as universal as the first wail of the child taken from the womb. The helplessness of the individual mother in war to respond to it is a tragedy as old as the world is old. But the triumph of the Woman's Movement means the organisation of the motherhood of the world for the preservation and development of human life, and even now

the women of all nations are forming themselves into a great international party that shall one day rise in all the authority of enfranchised womanhood and shall say, "some way must be found for settling disputes and fulfilling the desires of nations other than by the slaughtering of our sons, the blighting of our daughters and the starvation of our children."

The hope of the Woman's Movement in the immediate future, as of every other great Movement for human emancipation, lies in a re-awakened passion of spiritual democracy, which is nothing more or less than the revival in a world broken by greed and force and the lust of domination, of the religion of love and of service which has been proclaimed by all the great teachers since the dawn of time.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL SIDE OF ENGLISH LIFE

BY CHRISTOPHER TURNOR

UP to two years ago I was regarded as a particularly hardened offender among those few who maintained that there is not only an agricultural side to our life, but that the "Agricultural Side" is by far the most important of our life as a nation, as a township, or even as individuals. I was charging townsmen whenever I had the opportunity with an utterly false outlook towards the land and its functions, and they promptly and naturally retaliated by saying that since I was a landowner my views were necessarily biased in favour of the agricultural interest, and prone to give to agriculture quite an exaggerated importance in our scheme of national development.

Then came the War, with its special revelations for townsmen. One of them is that 20s. are to-day worth only 12s. 4d. That is to say, although we are beyond the War zone, separated from it by the "Silver-streak," although Britain still rules the waves, and has managed on the whole fairly well up to now in dealing with the submarine peril and raiding steamers, the price of food (and in sympathy with it the price of every other commodity) has risen so high as to constitute a problem of extreme gravity.

Another revelation to the townsman is that until the Navy can perform the miracle of always being in two places at the same time, the Navy cannot be an absolute protection against our food supply being interrupted by the enemy for a shorter or longer period. If Germany therefore were to succeed by some terrible mischance in cutting off our food supplies for only three months, she would bring about by starvation what no probable hostile combination could ever bring about by fighting :—we should be forced into submission, because we have neglected our one vital industry (the production of food) to such an extent, that we now live parasitically upon food chiefly grown in countries beyond the seas. And the very Silver-streak which we love to regard as a special protection in case of war, becomes now (as the German submarines have shown) a danger-belt full of innumerable perils to our food-ships.

After twenty-three months of war every one of us knows that the only thing that is certain to happen is the uncertain. Still, no surprise invasion, no submarine menace, could alter the final outcome of the War if our food supply were secure. But by now there is hardly one who does not know that a mere three months' supply of our daily bread stands between the safety of England and the most appalling disaster the world of to-day could witness.

But, you will ask, whose fault is it that such a perilous situation has arisen? The fault is not that of any one class, but of our outlook which we owe to

a school of false economists. This school brought about a profound change in our entire conception of the true course of our national evolution. The nation was made to forget that agriculture is our vital industry, both as a producer of food for the citizen, and of the human flesh and blood which cities, cannibal-like, must feed upon or die. It was taught that the only thing that mattered was to manufacture goods for the world market; that England was predestined to become the workshop of the world, and, in turn, to live chiefly on food produced for her by the farmers of other countries. Our resources in land and man-power were treated as matters of little or no account. Indeed, for two or three generations the "man-in-the-street" has acted as if our agriculture, or even the Empire, did not exist at all—certainly not for him. What he wanted was cheap food. Where the food came from was to him a matter of no concern. Whether his unconcern about our becoming dependent upon foreign food supplies might not some day produce a situation where his cheap food would turn out to be the dearest food ever bought by any nation since the days of ancient Rome, never entered his head. He saw only the apparent price and the superficial truth. Against the real price and the real truth his outlook had been systematically obscured.

This view that nothing mattered but the feverish chase after world-markets, was proclaimed so assiduously by the economists of the old school (and the politicians who take from them their opinions ready made) that our outlook has become entirely

urban, to the exclusion of the agricultural interest ; and that indeed our very village schools are described as " town schools situated in the country." And once this outlook had been created, the results were what they were bound to be : for once certain forces, created by a new outlook, are set in motion, they are beyond recall : and it will take generations, or the cyclonic force of a war, to create a new and true outlook ; and so liberate new forces for correcting past mistakes, and reverting to the true course of our national development.

One of the results of this wrong outlook is the condition of our farming industry. It is based upon a narrow and rigid doctrine of class or commercial economics. Its adherents are the farmers of the present day. It recognises only the *economic* factor—as represented, in *this* case, by the commercial interest of the farmers as individuals and a class ; and it thereby excludes the human and social meaning of agriculture. It regards land not as a factor in the production of wealth for the nation, but as a means of making money for the farmer. It aims not at producing the greatest amount of food and raw products, employing in the process the largest number of workers at a living wage, but at making the largest nett profit for itself, while employing the minimum number of men.

While this method might be defended in other industries it is highly dangerous in food production, for its effect is to put the interests of agriculture in front of those of the State ; to make it frankly anti-

national. In order to reduce the weekly wage bill, land is withdrawn from cultivation and laid down to grass. Even during 1914, in spite of the most urgent appeals to farmers to increase their production of food, 10,000 acres were added to the already excessively large area under grass, and so we get this set of facts :

On one hand 4,000,000 acres have, during the last two generations, gone out of cultivation, and 1,000,000 food producers have had to leave the villages either to go to the towns to aggravate still further the existing problems, or to emigrate. On the other hand farming during the last decade has become highly profitable to the farmer without benefiting the nation.

But while it is unfortunately true that the interests of our farming industry are opposed to the interests of the nation, it is not the farmers' but the *nation's* fault that such an extraordinary position has arisen. Misinstructed by our pseudo-economists the nation did not care whether agriculture lived or died. In the depression of the "eighties," between 1875 and 1895, the farming industry lost the gigantic sum of £835,000,000 of its capital. Thousands of farmers were ruined. The rest set their teeth and determined to save from the wreck as much as they could. Their salvage scheme took the form of cutting down expenses by reducing their staff. It was a short-sighted and unwise policy, because it meant scrapping a great part of the existing machinery for food production, and so reducing efficiency and output, but there was no one to advise them better, and so the wrong thing was

done. Hence the wholesale withdrawal of land from the plough ; hence the flight of the million army of food producers from the land ; hence the persistent shrinkage in our output of home produced food. One of the great contributory causes of the War is the fact I mentioned before, that for nearly 300 days of the year we were depending for our bread corn upon sources outside these islands, that is, beyond our absolute control. Who knows what influence an efficient industry of food production, fostered by a wise Government and a well-instructed nation, and producing at home most of the food we need, might not have exercised upon the course of the War, or indeed in preventing it. Instead we see our greatest vital industry driven by an utterly false outlook into a condition of being diametrically opposed to the best interests of the State and the Nation.

It is possible that the series of disasters which befell our farming industry would not have had such dire results if the landowners had done their duty. What during the latter part of the last century the whole countryside wanted, was a strong lead. The natural leaders as a class were the landowners. Unfortunately they did not lead. They might have played a great and noble part not only in steering agriculture safely through the economic upheaval, but in the reorganisation of rural life ; but unhappily they were unable to see the duty which their position called upon them to discharge.

There are few with a real knowledge of English country life who will deny that English landowners

as a whole have been a good and upright class of men, doing their duty to the best of their ability and according to their lights. But the unfortunate thing is that their attitude towards the land is really just about the same to-day as it was in the eighteenth century. Perhaps one explanation is that many landowners do not nowadays derive their income from the land as the direct result of efforts made in the cultivation of the land. They do, of course, cultivate their home farms, but they can rarely be said to make any income out of the operation. On the Continent the majority of estate owners derive the bulk of their income from the land they cultivate themselves : indeed they make a very good living out of it because land owning is by them regarded as a profession which demands serious training like other professions. We shall have to accept this principle here before landowners can play their part as the natural leaders, and before agricultural conditions can become really satisfactory.

It is due to this lack of interest in the land as a producer of wealth for the nation, that many members of the landowning class regard land as an amenity for the few. They fail to realise that in a country like ours land must be a necessity for the many. If there existed any lingering doubt on the subject before the War, it has been swept away by the War. No prejudice, no tradition, no system even, however hallowed by age, *can* be, or indeed *will* be allowed to stand in the way of what in the grim school of War we are now all of us learning to perceive is the true course of the development of our country and of the Empire,

It was only to be expected that this view of the land being an amenity for the few would meet with violent opposition, in particular from socialists who exhorted us to "look at the rich landowners with their enormous rent rolls."

Well, let us see how much income the landowners derive from the agricultural land. And as figures by themselves are never very convincing, we will illustrate them by an imaginary diagram. Think of a square, divided into five rows of five squares each, twenty-five squares in all. If you will make each small square represent £10,000,000, then the big square with its twenty-five small squares represents the total aggregate income of the United Kingdom in the form of rent from the land: £250,000,000 a year.

Now, four squares out of the twenty-five represent the gross rental of *agricultural* land: £40,000,000 a year. The rest is from town property.

But of this, some £17,000,000 are expended every year in the upkeep of the farms.

The net rental of the rural landowners of the United Kingdom amounts, therefore, only to about £23,000,000. But even then we have not done justice to the landowners, for the bulk of the £23,000,000 is not rent at all, but, as every one with even a slight knowledge of rural conditions is aware, it represents a low rate of interest on the capital expended by landowners in buildings and other improvements.

If we now review the results of the false outlook we find that it is responsible for an excessive development

of our urban industries, and consequently for an urban bias throughout the entire economy of the nation. Instead of a sound nationalism, aiming at the harmonious development of industry and agriculture, growing naturally into an imperialism which shall give us a self-contained and self-supporting Empire, to be the leader in the world's progress and the keeper of the world's peace, there grows up a crass industrialism with its strange mentality which preaches that the cheapest trade route is not the shortest but the most roundabout ! It teaches its workers to set up the fetish of uneconomically cheap food and to fall down and worship it ; but it withholds from the workers the fact that cheap food means cheap labour, a congested labour market, periods of unemployment and underemployment, and all the social evils that spring from it : sweating, over-crowding, destitution, physical and mental degeneracy. Or the still more terrible fact that the ultimate price of cheap food might some day prove to be our national ruin. Under the influence of this paralysing doctrine our agriculture begins to decay ; half our rural population is driven off the land ; farming is forced into an anti-national attitude ; and with the almost complete disappearance of their income from the land wanes the landowners' interest in it as a potential source of income. The nation has once light-heartedly seen the landowner and the farmer almost overwhelmed by an enormous financial disaster. He now sees the nation light-heartedly proceed on its course of becoming almost entirely dependent upon foreign bread corn. Who is he that he

might hope to turn the nation from its dangerous path ?

But the war has brought us face to face with the primitive truths of life. In the order which is slowly growing out of the upheaval in our minds I think I can see emerging the principles which will form our new outlook upon life and will help us to realise those dreams of a richer, fuller life which but for this upheaval I fear would have remained dreams beyond our life time.

The fundamental principle of this new conception is that the function of the land is to enable us to live. It performs this function in two ways : it grows the plants which purify the air so that we may breathe, and it grows the food so that we may live. It does the first by withdrawing, through the plants, from the air the carbon-dioxide exhaled by us, and giving in exchange oxygen : it does the second by working up with the aid of plants, the carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen of the atmosphere, together with certain minerals from the soil, into various forms of food, which we consume either direct or after it has been transformed (by means of our stock) into veal, beef, lamb, mutton, milk, eggs, and so forth. The supply of oxygen proceeds automatically without the aid of human agency ; but the supply of various compounds of carbon, etcetera, though in the earlier stages of mankind a process conducted haphazard by Nature, passes gradually under the control of man. As population increases, the need of increasing the ratio

of food production increases *pari passu* ; and with it there arises the idea, shadowy it is true but nevertheless discernible, that it is the duty of agriculture to feed the nation from which it holds the land.

Though this conception of the function of agriculture to produce the largest possible amount of food has not been so far directly expressed by the State, there is nevertheless at this moment ample proof of its tacit acceptance to be found in the complex machinery created to carry it out. I need only remind you of the existence of the Boards of Agriculture in England and Scotland ; the Departments of Agriculture in Ireland and Wales ; the Development Commission, the chairs of Agriculture in our Universities, the agricultural colleges, farm schools, and experiment stations, the army of agricultural advisers and instructors employed by County Councils ; the technical Press ; the vast literature covering every branch of the industry ; the hundreds of societies dealing with the various interests of agriculture, or even the farming columns in every little county paper. Everyone of these agencies helps to prove my statement : the implied object is (or should be) the development of agriculture. Unfortunately they fail to attain the object at which they are all aiming because there is no attempt at co-ordinated action, for their present procedure is about as rational as that of the blind Red Indian warrior who kept on shooting arrows in all directions believing that in the end he would be certain to hit something.

But the land and agriculture have another great function and this is to grow the greatest possible crop of strong and healthy young men and women. For the towns do not only live, as I have already said, on the food grown in the country, but they feed literally upon the human flesh and blood grown on the land. To withhold this diet from the cities would mean an immediate lowering of the physical and mental standard and gradual decay. No urban side of English life is even conceivable without an agricultural side.

In order to enable the land and agriculture to fulfil its two functions we must concede to every suitable worker three rights : The right to a living wage while working for a farmer ; the right of access to the land to earn his livelihood working on his own ; and the right to be assisted by the State in becoming a successful food producer.

So far as the justice of the minimum wage is concerned, there is no one either so ignorant of the effects of the minimum wage in other sweated industries or so heartless as to dispute or deny it. As far as the other two Rights of Man are concerned, I fear I cannot even give an opponent the chance of holding up his hand in horror at the "daring or revolutionary novelty" of the suggestion, for one of them dates from the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the other from some time after August 4, 1914. Good Queen Bess was the first to say that men do have the right of working on the land in lieu of the wages for work, with which the nation does not provide them, because it is too busy providing employment with good wages for workers

in other countries ; and this principle has endured to our own days, for the law ordains that local authorities must provide working men with land for allotments.

Under the other principle a (for the present) grateful nation gives me to-day free training, provides me with a building, machinery, tools, and raw materials to make munitions, paying me not only a very good wage but looking after my welfare in every way. Now I, personally, can perceive in theory no fundamental difference between my claims upon the State, and the State's duty towards me, as a munition worker, i.e. a man who lends his knowledge and skill to the nation for making parts of a shell or cartridge "for the Germans" ; and my claims upon the State, and the State's duty towards me, as a food producer who lends his knowledge and skill to the nation for producing food for ourselves.

But in practice, in other words, when we come down to the hard facts of life, and make an effort to see things in their proper perspective and their relation to the permanent well-being of our country and the Empire, the claim of the food producer is immeasurably stronger. Six months of war with only half the necessary supply of munitions would no doubt mean serious reverses and much loss of life though it would not affect the ultimate outcome of the war ; but six months of warfare with only half our necessary supply of food would really mean that we should be irretrievably defeated on the day we entered upon that disastrous six months.

But let us consider what would happen if the people should decide to make use of these three rights. The very act of deciding would mean that we should for ever remove the danger of being starved into submission. It would mean the re-organisation of our industry of food production on truly national lines. At present the life of the agricultural labourer is not attractive : he is poorly paid, poorly housed, and poorly fed. Worse still, he has no prospect of rising because there is no agricultural ladder. If he asks the State for a small holding upon which to employ his skill as a trained food producer, to the greater advantage both of his family and the nation, the State advises him with brutal irony to save out of his wages enough money to enable him to take and stock a holding. If he inquires how he is to save out of wages which are admitted to be disgracefully low, the State replies that " these things have been regulated by law and that the law must be obeyed." If his boys would like to get a sound training in agriculture the State tells them that it cannot do so for good honest boys ; but if they will go out and steal or commit some other offence the State will then take them by the hand and to an industrial school where they will receive a first-class training both in farming and market gardening.

All this would be altered at once with the introduction of a minimum wage for farm labourers and the resumption of the right of access to the land, with all the vast developments which spring from it. The promise of a living wage, paid regularly fifty-two weeks in a year, with the prospect of having some day a

"place of his own," will attract to agriculture large numbers of what we might describe as the *oppidan* type—the man who lives on the outskirts of the town, close enough to the country to understand and love the life on the land, and close enough to the town to have acquired the more alert mind of the townsman who will make the utmost use of any chance of a career on the land if it comes his way.

The coming of this type will mean an enormous addition to the existing agricultural capital in brains and intelligent labour, and bring about an immediate rise in the status of the farm labourer. Further, it will mean an immediate raising of our standard of farming, for the farmers of the old school who are too old to learn that a cheap wage does not mean cheap labour will have to give way to the new generation of farmers who know that the wage-cost of production is lowest where the rate of wages is high, and that the limit to the producing capacity of the land (at all events for the next few generations to come) is the extent to which he is willing to apply the teachings of scientific husbandry.

From that day will date the new outlook towards the land which I believe will give to every man the chance of living a freer and fuller life than has hitherto been possible. Our industry of food production, now under-capitalised in intelligent enterprise, labour, live and dead stock and actual working capital, will, under the influence of this new outlook with its influx of new capital in all its forms, enter upon an era of develop-

ment such as has raised Denmark from the slough of wretched poverty to the position of the second wealthiest country in the world, counting wealth per head.

We shall see on the one hand the growth of large farms which, with the aid of the most modern machinery and a highly skilled staff and all the help that agricultural science can give, will specialise in growing corn and all those other crops most economically produced under a system of quantitative efficiency.

On the other hand there will spring up colonies of small-holdings as highly organised for success as our joint intelligence will enable us to make them ; and between these two forms—the extensive system carried out intensively and the intensive system carried out extensively, on a colony—there will be found all those special forms of farming, such as the dairy farm and the mixed farm, which are the backbone of our farming industry as it exists to-day.

This right of access to the land will give a powerful impetus to the principles of reclamation and afforestation which have formed in every other country an essential part in the organisation of its national life but which we have until now been satisfied to worship from afar. But the increasing demand for land will make us remember the dictum of the scientist that there is no such thing as infertile land, in the sense of being permanently incapable of growing food. So we shall inaugurate great schemes for reclaiming heathlands and moors, with methods which have proved

highly successful in Germany. And the land which it will not pay us to reclaim for farms and market gardens we shall plant with trees and so find healthy employment for many more thousands of workers, both in forestry and on forest small-holdings and in all those industries for which the forest supplies the raw material.

With this new outlook we shall make the old proverb about agriculture being the mother of all industries a real, living fact. We shall learn how to tap enormous new markets by extracting carbon, oxygen and hydrogen from the atmosphere, and to go into partnership with industry and commerce to convert these raw materials into starch, glucose, dextrose, alcohol, sugar and a score of other commodities which now we have to buy from abroad because our school of pseudo-economists was teaching the nation, right up to the beginning of the war, that it was good business for us to exchange our coal—taken from an ever-diminishing store—for an equal value of German sugar, for example, made from raw material which by means of chlorophyll and sunlight is obtained from the atmosphere in illimitable quantities.

Our false economists taught us that a country cannot be at the same time an industrial and an agricultural country. Both Germany and Belgium prove the exact opposite. Here an amazing progress in food production took place side by side with an equally amazing industrial development. Indeed, in the logical development of agriculture—which means the pro-

duction of optimum crops both of food and raw materials for industries—we find that a stage is soon reached where agriculture and manufacture are linked together at a hundred points. I need only remind you, by way of a particularly annoying example, that over a hundred of our home industries depended for the making of their profits to a greater or lesser degree upon the potato “grown in Germany.”

There is another science which is everywhere playing a paramount part in the redemption of labour and the land: the science of the elimination of waste in production and distribution, i.e. co-operation. The rate of progress in agricultural co-operation here in England has unfortunately not been very satisfactory. The superficial observer thinks he has settled the whole thing by saying that the idea of co-operation is foreign to the English temperament. He forgets that the genius of the English people has produced the greatest instances of joint action in the world; chief among them our Friendly Societies, Trades Unions, and above all the Industrial Co-operative Movement with its 3,000,000 members and a turnover of some £140,000,000 a year.

The true explanation is of course simple enough. If I am desirous of “co-operating,” i.e. working-together for a common purpose, I must first of all find some other men I can “operate-with.” Secondly, the men must possess a certain degree of intelligence to understand the principles of joint action. The greater the number of men of a certain class in a given district, the greater will be the percentage of intelligent men

among them, and the better my chances of convincing them of the truth that Union is Strength. Now, as we have seen, during the last sixty years, one million men have had to leave the land, and the rural population is so scattered that there is now only one labourer to each fifty acres.

We are often invited to admire the wonderful co-operative organisation of Danish food production, and indeed I plead guilty to doing so myself at every opportunity because I have seen with my own eyes what Denmark has achieved in that respect. But let us create the same fundamental conditions here, let us bring back the million men who were driven off by a set of circumstances the blame for which rests chiefly with the townsman ; let us make sure that they will receive a fair wage for a fair day's work ; let us give them the chance of using their numbers and their better wage for changing the deadly dull village of to-day into a real " live " community ; let us provide them with an agricultural ladder, the " chance to get on," and I am convinced we shall see a development here as great as that of any country which is now held up to us as a model.

One reason of my hopefulness is that in spite of all the false apostles of lop-sided national evolution the contact between our urban and rural civilisation has never been severed. The teachings of the " dismal science " of industrial economics are one thing, instinct is quite another. And deep down in the nature of the Englishman there is his almost passionate love of the soil and of animals. The " dismal science " has

made us into a race chiefly of town dwellers ; instinct applies the corrective by making the town-dwellers into a race of gardeners, allotment holders, and "fanciers," with probably every two out of the three of them hoping that some day they may find themselves in the real country, on their "own bit of land," living their own life in their own way. The sum total of knowledge held by this vast volunteer army of food producers, and students, as it were, in agricultural and horticultural research, is enormous ; and every expert gladly acknowledges the assistance which it has rendered, and is rendering, in advancing our general knowledge of food production.

But the number of urban allotment holders is still far too small, and here in particular should we see to it that every worker who wants an allotment should be able to exercise his right of access to the land. For myself I would like to see a great extension of the system of allotments for these reasons :—

1. It provides the urban worker with a dual occupation, and society with an economic stabiliser. Physical and mental conditions are largely the result of economic conditions. When trade is good, work on the allotment not only increases the weekly income but raises the physical and mental standard of the worker. When trade is bad, this accumulated reserve goes to resist the tendency of unemployment and under-employment to depress the physical and mental standard of the worker and his family.

2. It produces a certain quantity of food and to that extent makes us independent of oversea supplies. The

aggregate man-power represented by the spare time of urban workers who would like to employ it on the land constitutes a vast force which is now lying idle but would go far in helping to solve the vital problem of our food supply if a great organiser could be found to mobilise it.

3. The allotment is the first rung of the agricultural ladder. Some of the most successful smallholders I know are townsmen who trained themselves at their own expense and in the sweat of their brow on their allotments.

So far, we have seen, the nation has not encouraged the food producer. On the contrary, its action has been distinctly unfriendly. If anyone doubts this, let him apply for an allotment and see what happens, although the law of England distinctly admits his right to an allotment. But with our new conception of the land we shall make it our special business to seek out the men who possess special skill in one or two branches of food production and give them the opportunity of practising their skill on a larger scale and doing the very best they can for themselves, which means that they will be doing well by the nation.

I am looking forward to a time when there will be well-paid work for every pair of hands willing and able to do it. As long as we are trying to balance the pyramid of our national economy on its apex, the sight may be spectacular but the process is apt to produce those sudden scares and disturbances for which we

have invented the term "social unrest." But as soon as we place the pyramid on its base it will stand there steady and solid, and nothing will be able to upset it. For its base is the land, with its wonderful possibilities. Sixty years ago—I say it again—our land employed one million more workers than it does to-day. The land on which they earned their living is still here to take back another million men and their families, and enough land can be reclaimed and afforested to receive thousands more. And as they leave the town to settle on the land, their going will not only relieve the tension in the labour market of the towns, but by becoming producers of food they become consumers of manufactured goods, and so they will render another economic service by adding to the sum of available employment for the town workers.

We have the land to absorb all the men who like an outdoor life ; there will be no lack of suitable men if we provide suitable conditions, and there is an enormous market for food products now being supplied by foreign countries.

On these three conditions, the Land, the Men, and the Market necessary for raising the standard of life of our workers we may therefore count. But to capture our own markets now supplied by foreign food producers and to bring about the condition "when the job will seek the man" it is necessary that we should gradually raise our rate of production until it is twice as high as it is now. This, the defenders of the oblique outlook assure us solemnly, is absolutely impossible. Now, it will be for the workers themselves

to say whether their legitimate desire of securing for themselves a better reward for their labour and a life fully worth living is to be baulked by those self-appointed leaders who declare that we already grow as much food per acre as it will ever be possible for us to grow. And in helping the workers to come to a decision I will conclude with this statement: Our rate of food production is £4 per acre. The rate of production in Belgium is £20 per acre—five times as high. If we are so destitute in intelligence that we could not raise our rate to £8, which is less than half the Belgian rate, then our hopes of seeing our empty countryside become luxuriant with a crop of prosperous workers will not be realised. If we believe, however, that the task is not beyond our joint intelligence then I can foresee the coming of an era which will quickly heal the wounds inflicted by the war and give England that enduring wealth which consists in a happy and prosperous people.

THE LAND QUESTION AFTER THE WAR

BY CHARLES RODEN BUXTON.

(MR. J. ST. G. HEATH IN THE CHAIR.)

LOOKING over again the bulky reports of the Land Enquiry Committee, as I have done in the last day or two, I have been impressed with the extraordinary amount we knew a few years ago, and with the extremely little I, at any rate, know about it now. When the war broke out the nation was interested in the land question, and some of us were, I think, very hopeful ; we thought that something was going to be done. We had elaborated an enquiry, and an outline of a programme ; we had got a great political party gradually interested in the thing ; we had got—I had almost said we had got in tow—a statesman to carry it through, a statesman of brilliant abilities and of great imagination and great vigour ; everything seemed to be going favourably and we were beginning, I think, to picture some actual tangible result as following from the thought and the labour of so many people. Then suddenly, in August, 1914, there crashed in upon us this frightful, inconceivable tragedy. All the hopes that we had indulged in—in twenty-four hours they were nothing more than the baseless fabric of a vision. It was indeed a terrible experience, and I do feel that we confront a new situation now, and it is hardly of much

value to detail again what we thought two years ago ought to be done in respect of the land question. I am almost inclined to think that we have first to ask ourselves the question, is there going to be a land question at all after the war? a question, I mean, in the sense that people will really seriously set themselves to solve it. I do not feel at all certain about the answer to that question. There is a dangerous optimism to-day, founded on the vague belief that there cannot be so much horror without some great good coming of it. This optimism, combined with the prevailing unwillingness to face facts, may make us underrate the difficulties before us. Whether there will be any land reform after the war will depend very largely upon people like those collected here, who interest themselves in the matter, and who may be able to bring a powerful influence to bear. One difference in the new situation, as compared with the old, suggests itself to me, and it is this; that if we have land reform it will probably be of a much more rough-and-ready type, that much more drastic methods will be required to meet the new situation. Nothing has impressed me more in looking over our Land Enquiry Report than, if I may describe it so, the niggling character of what we suggested, the meticulousness of it all. One example impressed itself upon me very much. You, Mr. Chairman, will remember the days and nights which we spent over the exact amount we thought might possibly be granted from the central authority towards local expenditure. It was the keystone of our scheme, because these grants from the central authority were to be the main driving

force to secure that any new legislation should be put into effect. At last we came to the conclusion that we might be able to secure £5,000,000 per annum for this vital purpose. We are now spending £5,000,000 a day on the war. There you have, in a nutshell, the contrast between the small scale of the things we were hoping to do then, and the vast scale on which things are going on now. I feel that probably what we shall have to do will be to deal with a more or less desperate situation, and our land reform will be an endeavour to save something from the wreck.

I want to examine a little more into this question of the new situation. People say, old landmarks will be swept away. The question is whether there will be any landmarks left standing at all. And this question depends of course very largely on the length of the war. Every day that the war continues makes that future situation more difficult if not more desperate, and in the problem of whether the war is going to close this year or next, or the year after, or the year after that, is bound up the whole fate of social reform in this country. It is very difficult to disentangle the land reform problem from the wider problems that we have to deal with to-day. Let me first summarise the policy which we outlined before the war, and which I personally believe to be sound.

(i.) The establishment of a minimum wage, not only for agricultural labourers but for the low-paid wage-earners throughout the whole country.

(ii.) A great increase in the provision of dwelling-houses both in the country and the town,

(iii.) An increase in the provision of allotments and small holdings, and associated with that, new provisions for the easy acquisition of land by public authorities, whether central or local.

(iv.) The question of security of tenure both in the case of agricultural holdings and in certain classes of tenancies in the town.

(v.) The question of rating and taxation, in which we thought that a tentative advance ought to be made in the direction of the rating of land values.

(vi.) And, lastly, the provision of new grants from the central authorities, mainly in order to provide a driving force to enable the central government to make the machinery work.

Let us think what we shall be faced with, first economically and then psychologically, after the war.

Economically, I think that the main fact that will face us after the war will be the tremendous destruction of capital wealth, the unparalleled shortage of industrial capital. What does that mean? First of all, it will mean that it will be very difficult to find money for social reform. Social reform in most of its shapes requires money, and that money is not immediately productive. It is virtually capital expenditure so far as the nation is concerned.

The effect on labour conditions and the labour market will also be very great. You will have, of course, a very great demand for new industries or the revival of old industries, for the building up of all that has been destroyed. But whether you will be able to satisfy that demand rapidly or not depends very largely on

whether you have the capital to do it with. And while you are faced with these difficulties, you will be faced at the same moment with a flood of workmen seeking for work, men whose places have been taken by others. It seems to me that these two things, taken together, will probably result in very serious unemployment and in a lowering of wages—a reduction of the whole standard of living—and a consequent weakening of the bargaining power of the poorer classes, the power to get what they want, whatever it may be. The labour movement will be thoroughly disorganised, and that will not only affect the question of its bargaining power in the matter of wages ; it will also affect its bargaining power in securing better houses or gardens or allotments or small holdings. We shall also be faced with the fact that there will be an immense, crushing burden of taxation. People seem to think very lightly of spending £5,000,000 a day, and very few people indeed seem to reflect on what it means, or what difference a single day's war makes to the social conditions which will come after the war. We had before to raise in this country nearly £200,000,000 in taxation. Supposing for the sake of argument that that goes on as representing the normal expenditure, we shall have in addition to that to raise, even if the war stops quite soon, probably another £200,000,000 a year for the repayment of debt. Then we shall have in addition to that to support the whole army of cripples and incapable, disabled men, and, in addition to that, there may or may not be an indefinitely increased burden in the shape of more armaments, both military and naval.

It will be a burden such as has never been dreamed of in this country before the war. It will be a very burning question how that burden shall be distributed, in other words, who shall pay. It is hardly possible to conceive that there will be much surplus for what will then, by the side of this unavoidable expenditure, appear as the "fancy" purposes of social reform.

I have been thinking of the economic side of the situation after the war, but we ought to think also what will be the state of men's minds in relation to politics and reform. Some people, of course, think that there will be a great stimulus to energy in the matter of politics, a great desire to make things better, a greater readiness than before to undertake the complicated, laborious problems of social legislation. Well, I hope it will be so, but I cannot say that I feel very sanguine about it. I think it is more probable that the fact will be the reverse, that after the tremendous stimulus to the energies of the people that has been given by the war, there will be a reaction in the direction of apathy. People will be only too glad to take it easy in every direction that they possibly can. To put it in another way, we shall have to push our claims more energetically than before if we are to get them carried through. I suggest that it is of the utmost importance to try and think out what is likely to happen at the first General Election after the war, and what kind of Parliament will be elected. I think it is very probable that those candidates will be elected at that General Election who talk most about punishing the Germans and about creating an enormous defensive military force, who are

in favour of arming to the teeth and of making every kind of fresh preparation for war. If that is so, they will certainly not be social reform candidates. They will not have talked very much about social reform. The men who have talked about social reform will probably have been dubbed Pro-Germans and not elected. Therefore I think it probable that you will not get a "social reform" Parliament, unless you take exceptionally vigorous measures beforehand. In so far as there is political interest in that Parliament, I should think that it will take the form of favouring a vigorous action by the central authority—collectivist action, such as we have perforce adopted during the war. There is, of course, a very widespread feeling now that it has been proved by the war that the Government can do more in the way of controlling industry than has been previously thought possible. We should, of course, take full advantage of that. Some of the land reforms which I, at least, believe in are of a collectivist character. They do involve action on a very large scale by the central authority.

There is one other feature of the political situation that we shall find, I think, after the war, and that is that, as a sort of reaction from the general indifference to social reform, there will be fairly violent revolutionary elements. There must be, in places at least, immense distress; and that will provide a field for those who take the revolutionary line, and say that Parliament is no good, that constitutional methods are no good, that if you want to get something done it can only be done by frightening Parliament into action, and so forth.

As I am a hater of revolution, I do not think that that is likely to help us much in getting social reform, but I think that that is the kind of situation that we shall have to face.

In view of the probability, or at any rate possibility, of such a situation as that suggested, what are the kinds of land reform that we are most likely to be able to secure ?

The first point that is worth noticing in this connection is that there are certain kinds of land reforms which provide something, and provide it directly and immediately, for the returning soldier. I think we should take full advantage of that. There will be a very strong feeling that the soldier who has fought his country's battles ought not to be allowed to go back to a sweated industry or any other miserable condition of life—a fine and worthy feeling. I think we shall have a very strong argument to use in favour of a minimum wage, on the ground that I have suggested. I think there will be a great deal of public sympathy with it. Perhaps reform in the direction of a minimum wage is one of the most hopeful lines, and by that I mean a minimum wage for the low-paid industries in the town as well as in the country. But even there, of course, we shall have a powerful case made out against us. We shall certainly be told that in the situation that then exists, owing to the need of repairing the damage, owing to the shortage of capital, owing, in other words, to the impoverishment of the country as a whole, it is impossible that labourers should be paid even as high a wage as before. We shall be

told that at a time when it is above all necessary to start our industries again as rapidly as possible, it would be the worst policy to interfere with the employer, to place difficulties in his way, to make it harder for him to resume his business. I do not think that the argument can be applied very convincingly to agriculture. I think there is good reason to believe that the farmer in the South of England after the war will be able to pay a higher wage than he was paying before the war, and there will be strong reason for urging that as powerfully as we can. In connection with that I should like to pass on to you a suggestion made the other day by Mr. Brougham Villiers. It was published in *War and Peace* last March under the title "After the War." He said that, in view of the difficulties which will arise from the simultaneous discharge of vast numbers of men and the throwing of them upon the labour market, what we ought to do is to say that no soldier shall be discharged until he has got a satisfactory job. It is a very far-reaching suggestion, and of course it leaves much very vague. Who is to determine whether he has got a satisfactory job? But this is a matter of detail. The principle is that no man should be discharged, however long he has to be kept in the army, merely to walk the roads. He must either have a recognised job provided for him through the labour exchanges or otherwise, or he must have a small holding, or he must have some other means of support, before he is discharged. Mr. Brougham Villiers points out that, although this would impose a very heavy burden on the tax-payer,

through the keeping of men in unproductive employment so long, yet that very fact would be an inducement to the public and to Parliament to lighten the burden by organising the labour market, developing the resources of the land, and so forth. The nation would take the burden upon its own shoulders, instead of leaving it upon the shoulders of each individual man, who in his turn would drag down the class which he represents by competing for work at low wages.

It is not only the question of wages which will be affected by this desire to provide for returning soldiers. I have mentioned the question of small holdings. We should claim what Mr. Christopher Turnor was claiming this morning, that the central Government should buy up estates, develop them as small holdings, and thus provide new openings for suitable men. The Development Commission is said to be carefully preparing schemes of this kind, and the "Reconstruction Committee" appointed by the Government has invited suggestions from the public on this and other subjects.

There is, however, another consideration which will govern all these problems. It is this, that it will be very difficult to get through any land reform which requires a great amount of capital expenditure. Money will be very dear. It will be exceedingly difficult to get capital, especially for such matters as housing, where the proportion of capital required is very large. This will prove a tremendous handicap, not merely in the sense that the man who gets capital will have to pay such an immense proportion of his outgoings in inter-

est, but in the sense that an enormous number will not get the capital at all, and will not undertake the work. It is worth realising what a difference this question of capital makes. If you take a working class house, costing £250, an increase in the rate of interest of only 1 per cent. means a difference of 1s. a week in rent, 1s. taken away from other expenditure necessary for the upkeep of the family. To give another illustration, if you take an acre of land with twenty houses built upon it, at the same cost of £250 each, the extra 1 per cent. means an additional payment of £50 a year, or in other words it is the same thing as if there had been an additional £1,000 on the cost of the land. It makes an enormous difference. Even the comparatively slight rise which had taken place before the war had produced a serious effect upon housing in this country. It is true that the State will be able to borrow money but every time it does so it will have to impose an increased burden on the tax-payer, at a time when the taxes are already something like £500,000,000 a year.

I might point out that the mere acquisition of the land itself does not necessarily involve this difficulty. You might get the land without raising capital. The land is there. The land is not diminished by the war, and it can if necessary be paid for by bonds guaranteeing to the previous owner whatever is thought fair, whether the equivalent of his former rent or otherwise. But as regards the buildings, the making of roads, the stocking and equipping of farms and so forth, all those things will be hampered by the shortage of capital. So much for that point.

And there is one other point which I think ought to be mentioned. If I am right in thinking that Parliament will not be inclined to devote a great amount of thought to social reform, then those remedies are most likely to be adopted which take the least amount of Parliamentary time and energy. And that is a fact, if it is a fact, which has far-reaching consequences. There are certain things which it will be extremely difficult to get through, because they require very elaborate legislation. Two things especially occur to me. One is the reform of the conditions of tenure both in town and country, the whole question of giving greater security of tenure and the whole question of giving compensation for improvements. It is a very complicated business which only a Parliament filled with enthusiasm for social reform is likely to undertake. And the other is the problem of rating, which, again, is one of great detail and complexity, and would require a great deal of Parliamentary thought and time. I confess that I am less hopeful about these problems than I am about those which can, if necessary, be simply referred to some Government Department.

I ought just to say a word about the question of taxation, which is closely connected with the question of land reform. There I think we may hope to get a hearing, because the question will certainly be discussed up and down. I should think there will be a very large section of people who will take as their principle that this gigantic burden of taxation must not be spread out equally over the whole people, but must be made to fall very much more heavily upon those with large

incomes than upon those with small, and in particular must so far as possible be made to fall upon those who can bear it without injuring the fabric of industry. If this principle prevails, something in the direction of the taxation and rating of land values may well be introduced into the new scheme of taxation which is bound to come.

Well, I am afraid that I have presented to you a somewhat gloomy picture, but I shall be only too delighted if anyone can present a brighter one.

All I contend is that we ought to face the actual probabilities of the situation and as far as possible adapt our plans to it, so that when the time comes we may follow the line of least resistance, and get through as much as we can. I think we ought to be more ready than ever before to co-operate with anyone who will work for even a part of our ideal policy. I think probably the best chance of securing land reform will be to devise some common programme which will be agreed upon by a large number of different sections in the community. Such a programme may not go as far as many of us would wish, but it may get through where a more ambitious programme would fail.

THE MEANING AND PURPOSE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY PHILIP KERR

THE outbreak of war came as a shock to most of the inhabitants of the British Empire. Some had prophesied it, but few had really faced its actual outbreak. And when it did come it brought about a transformation of our lives and habits which none of us could have conceived possible beforehand, and which even the most far-sighted member of the German General Staff would probably admit was almost a complete surprise. In consequence, the process of adjusting our ideas and customs to the immediate necessities of war has wholly preoccupied our minds. We have had but little time to think out the remoter consequences of the vast upheaval. Yet it is obvious that the war has already had effects which will completely change the conditions of our national life, and that the tale of those changes is not yet complete or nearly complete.

Not the least important of these consequences is the reconciliation it is effecting between the Imperialists and the social reformers. There is no doubt that before the war there was a wide gulf between the two. The Imperialists were inclined to think that the social reformers were impractical idealists, who refused to

face the hard facts of the outside world, who wished to cut down the army and navy, the only securities for national liberty and safety in the world as it existed then, who thought that all that was needed to bring about the millennium was good housing, good feeding, and good schooling. The social reformers, on the other hand, were inclined to think that the Imperialists were mere militarist jingoes, for ever seeking to extend the area of the Empire and spending vast sums of money urgently required for building up better conditions of life at home, on armaments and useless preparation for war. The war has brought home to everybody, I think, that each of these groups, while right in the importance of its own work, was wrong in its judgment of the other. It has proved that national policy must have two aspects, an internal aspect and an external aspect, and that we are bound to come to disaster unless we continuously take both into account. If we concentrate our attention exclusively on internal problems, it only means that plans which we have laboriously brought to fruition will inevitably be dashed from our grasp by external events, whose approach had been long apparent to those who knew how to discern the political skies, but which we refused to take into account in time. If we concentrate our attention exclusively on external events, it only means that our foreign policy, however well designed it may be to secure peace and public right, may become paralysed at the critical moment by disaffection caused by neglect of the welfare of the individual at home.

It is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that I find

myself addressing a conference, mainly consisting of social reformers, about external affairs, for I feel that a discussion on this subject cannot fail to help to bridge that undesirable gulf between those who are mainly concerned with social life within these islands, and those who are chiefly concerned with the complementary foreign and imperial problems which lie beyond them, and to bring about that mutual understanding of one another's ideals and honesty which is necessary to harmonious co-operation in the future.

The subject which I have been asked to take is "The meaning and purpose of the British Commonwealth." First of all I should like to explain why the word Commonwealth is used in place of the word Empire. It is used because I believe it denotes more correctly than the word Empire what the great State to which we all belong really is. In one sense the British Empire is an empire to-day, for the sovereign power is vested in an Imperial Parliament, which exercises more or less autocratic power over such vast territories as India and British Africa. In another sense it is not an Empire because the Imperial Parliament has long ago abdicated its title to legislate for the self-governing Dominions. But, what is more important, I think, than the technical meaning of words, it is a Commonwealth because the feeling of the overwhelming majority of its responsible inhabitants is that the justification for its existence can never be that it is of benefit to any one section of its inhabitants at the expense of the rest, but that it assures internal peace, law and order to its myriad inhabitants, and affords to all of them the

best hope of self-government and progress. In fact, we should most of us cease to believe in the Empire unless we also believed that it was daily becoming more and more of a commonwealth by giving in increasing degree equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, at the same time that it imposed upon them their correlatives, equal burdens and equal responsibilities.

What, therefore, is the use and purpose of the British Commonwealth in the world. This, I think, can best be considered under three heads. The primary function of the British Empire is to maintain the reign of law, and because of it, to keep the peace, among a quarter of the people of the earth. What an enormously important service it does in introducing ordered relations between 430 million people has been made much more clear by this war. The war is partly due to national egotism and bigotry and partly to the fact that between sovereign States there is, in the last resort, no machinery for adjusting conflicting interests or conflicting claims, save the methods of diplomacy, armaments and war. And there will be no other methods until the nations of the earth are willing to surrender their sovereign independence and constitute themselves a single sovereign people with a legislature which can settle disputes between nations by law, which all are in duty bound to obey and which alone will control the manufacture of armies and armaments. Until they are willing to do that, they will have to get along as best they can by methods of negotiation, arbitration and agreement embodied in treaties, methods which may diminish the chances of war but which can

never abolish armaments and war altogether. The British Commonwealth, however, is a form of international government which keeps the peace among a quarter of mankind. It develops a sense of unity which prevents the nationalism within its boundaries from degenerating into pure bigotry, and it provides the means whereby the disputes between the communities of every race and colour and grade of civilisation, of which it is composed, can be settled by law and not by force. This, in itself, is a tremendous contribution not only to our own peace, but to the peace of the world. As we shall see later its constitutional machinery is very badly contrived at this moment for discharging this function, but so long as the Empire remains one State it is there to be used whenever it is required.

The second function of the British Commonwealth is one to which I would allude at somewhat greater length. It is the great bridge between East and West, and between almost all the grades of civilisation which exist upon the face of the globe. A great many people, and among them, I think, a majority of social reformers, have been inclined to regard the British Raj in India as something in itself rather wicked; something to be maintained because having once been created, it cannot be suddenly overthrown, but still to be apologised for and to be got rid of as quickly as possible. And most of them, I fancy, would assent to the view that the Empire was the product of the desire for dominion of our ancestors and of no laudable purpose at all. I believe that if you will study history you will find that these opinions are wholly un-

warranted. There are many black, or rather, I would say, grey pages in Anglo-Indian history, there are many things which might be greatly improved to-day, there is a tremendous lot which will have to be done to-morrow, but I don't believe that any dispassionate enquirer would deny that the establishment of the British Raj has not only been a benefit to India but has been a necessary stage in the upward progress of the world.

It is only possible to realise this by considering what happens as the result of the first contact between civilisation as we know it in the West and an ancient Asiatic civilisation or a primitive African community. The result is almost invariably chaos. Whatever form the contact takes, whether it be the introduction of new ideas by the missionary, of drink, firearms, and the implements of civilisation by the trader, or of money and organisation by the financier or speculator, the result is always the same, the earlier civilisation crumbles into ruins. Only in the case of the Japanese has an Eastern civilisation been able to accommodate itself to the terrific impact of the knowledge of the West, and the Japanese have done so only by practically rebuilding their national life on Western lines. In all other cases, the result is either in doubt as in China, or it has been chaos and ruin as in India, Egypt, Africa, and now it would seem in Mexico. Now when things have reached such a pass that there seems to be no prospect of the community re-establishing peace and security for life and property for itself, the only way out is for some civilised community to step in and

protect the inhabitants from being exploited by so-called civilised adventurers and put an end to evils which, if unchecked, can only destroy and barbarise the people, by maintaining order and just law until such time as the people have learnt how to govern themselves under the new conditions created by Western knowledge and ways.¹ Not the least important function of the British Commonwealth is that it maintains justice and liberty among nearly 400,000,000 people who are not yet able to protect themselves from the devastating influences of the foreign capitalist and adventurer, and who have not yet readapted their primitive or their ancient societies as the case may be, to the new conditions which constant contact with the West since the invention of the sailing vessel, the steamboat, the railway, the telegraph and the newspaper have brought into being. The regulation of that contact is by no means perfect. In particular the relations between individuals of white races and coloured races are still undesirably bad. But none the less the British Commonwealth does create the conditions in which free self-development and progress are alone possible at present, and also provides the means whereby contact between all grades of civilisation can be adjusted by conference and compromise, ending in legislation binding on all, instead of by war.

The third purpose of the British Commonwealth

¹ For a fuller discussion of this problem, see an essay contributed by the author of this paper to "An Introduction to the Study of International Relations" on the subject of the relations between backward and advanced peoples.

needs but little explanation at this time. The fact of its unity has not only saved the communities of which it is composed from invasion and the possible loss of independence, but it has already made practically certain the triumph of the ideals of democracy and freedom, and the vindication of public right in the world. It is no small thing that the existence of the British Commonwealth should have brought 5,000,000 men from all the corners of the earth and with them the immense resources of the Empire to fight the battle of freedom and public right on the fields of Flanders. History will certainly record that it was the existence of the British Commonwealth and the alacrity of its peoples to defend the right, which was the principal factor in defeating the German attempt to impose a military tyranny on the world.

Therefore, I submit, the British Commonwealth has a use and purpose in the world which even those most absorbed in the problem of social reform cannot fail to recognise. It ensures personal liberty and the reign of law over a quarter of the globe, it is the chief instrument for adjusting the relations between East and West by peaceful means, it is the chief bulwark of freedom and public right in the world. This does not mean that the British Commonwealth as it exists to-day is perfect. Manifestly it is not. The room for improvement in its administration and its laws is practically infinite. But it does mean that the true line of progress is to improve the British Commonwealth and not to dissolve it. To break it up would simply be to set back the hands of the clock of progress. It

would destroy the best agency which exists to-day for training peoples still practically backward in liberal democracy, and it would probably mean handing them over to some autocratic power which would not only teach them some illiberal Kultur but would utilise their resources and their man power to overthrow liberty elsewhere. It would sunder communities and races who are now united in obedience to just law and in allegiance to one another and leave them with no other means of official intercourse save diplomacy backed by armaments, and thereby enormously increase the probabilities of war. It would put an end to the only practical proof which exists to-day that it is possible to unite all races and all levels of civilisation and all the ends of the earth in one State, within which every disputed question is settled by reason and justice expressed in law and not by force.

Hence I suggest to you that it is the primary duty of every good citizen not only to be an active citizen of his own national community but also to be an active citizen of the British Commonwealth as well; not only to make his own country a better place to live in, but to help to make the Empire also a better place for all its inhabitants to live in and a more effective instrument for the maintenance of freedom and public right in the world.

I do not propose to consider in detail what reforms are necessary in the imperial sphere. They are very numerous, and they are urgent. I will only direct attention to two subjects which events are forcing to the front and which, as they concern the fundamentals

of the Imperial constitution, will end in the disruption of the Commonwealth unless they are handled wisely and in time. The first relates to the introduction of self-government into India.

The conduct of the government of India by the British is, and ought to be, only a transitional episode in the history of India ; it has and can have no finality in itself. Its justification must be that it has served to tide over the period while India was readjusting its ideas to Western ideas, and that it ended in the creation of self-governing dominion within the Empire by constitutional and peaceful and not revolutionary means. There is to-day a growing demand in India itself that further steps forward should be made immediately after the war, and this demand is one which is perfectly healthy and sound, to which we must give the most sympathetic response. At the same time we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the belief that the introduction of self-government is the same thing as the establishment of democratic machinery. Self-government is a thing of the spirit far more than of constitutional mechanics. It requires before it can be successfully brought into operation not only a considerable degree of education among a majority of the voters, but such a standard of political conduct among them as will ensure they will put the interests of the community above their own interests or those of the section or class to which they belong. Experience in Central America, in Turkey and elsewhere shows that democratic machinery is not in itself a panacea for political ills. No greater injury

could be done to India, for instance, than that the control of its affairs should be handed over prematurely to the mercies of local politicians before the masses are able to use a vote intelligently to protect themselves. The greatest obstacle indeed, at present in the way of the introduction of a successful system of democracy is not the opposition of British officialdom but religious prejudice, the impassable barriers of caste which separate the people into strata which have practically no connection one with the other, the harem system, and the total illiteracy of the overwhelming mass of the Indian population. Hence I would utter a word of caution to those enthusiasts who believe that it is possible at an early date to introduce democracy into a continent which is as large as Europe without Russia, and whose 315,000,000 inhabitants are infinitely divided by religion and caste, are grouped into races as different from one another as are the races of Europe, speak more different languages than are spoken in Europe, and of whom the overwhelming majority are still totally incapable of exercising the franchise. Self-government is the goal to which all our efforts should be directed, and we should neglect no step which will tend to bring it about. Much has been done to lay the foundations for self-government in the past ten years. Much more must be done in the near future. But self-government is much more than democratic machinery, and the road to it will not be fully travelled until many a difficult reform has been carried into effect by the Indians themselves.

The second problem comes nearer home. It con-

cerns the constitution of the central Imperial Government itself. Everybody, I believe, now recognises that some change in that constitution must be made. It is impossible that the great self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand should continue indefinitely to have their foreign policy made for them by a Government and Parliament which does not represent them and which is mainly elected on the party issues of the British Isles. It is, indeed, perfectly evident from the utterances of their leading men that they intend to raise the question of their constitutional status within the Empire after the war.

Now, if you examine into the question it becomes evident that whatever arrangements may be made in the meanwhile for conducting common Imperial affairs by co-operative means, there is no way in which the inhabitants of Canada or Australia can acquire the same control over and responsibility for Imperial foreign policy and defence as the inhabitants of the British Isles, except that of Imperial federation—that is to say by entrusting the control of Imperial affairs to a Parliament dealing only with those affairs and elected by the self-governing people of the whole Empire, and entrusting the control of the Dominion affairs of the United Kingdom to a Parliament elected by the people of the British Isles. There is no other way, for this reason, that foreign policy and its correlative services must be controlled by one authority. It cannot be managed by necessarily dilatory negotiation between five separate Governments, as the events of

the last fortnight before the war have made clear. Hence, however perfect may be the machinery for co-operation between the five Governments of the Empire, whenever decisions have to be taken without delay, or whenever the five Governments fail to agree on policy, the Cabinet and Parliament of the United Kingdom will do what in its own judgment it thinks right, and the Dominions will have no option but to acquiesce in the decision of a Government and Parliament which does not represent themselves and is excessively subject to the domestic influences of the British Isles, or to secede from the Commonwealth. Or it may be that the initiative comes from the Dominions. The Imperial Government may at times find it necessary to veto certain action contemplated by a Dominion because it would lead to disastrous consequences to other parts of the Empire from foreign powers. Here again you have the same situation. Either the Dominion must comply with the instructions of an unrepresentative Imperial authority or the Imperial Parliament will have to declare its separation from the Empire as the only method of avoiding responsibility for the consequences of its conduct.

Thus the pressure not of enthusiasts or of constitution makers but of facts is gradually driving us to a federal constitution which will create an Imperial Parliament representative of the whole Empire to deal with common affairs, while guaranteeing the autonomy of all the parts, as the only alternative to the disruption of the Empire. If you will study a book entitled *The Problem of the Commonwealth* by my

friend, Mr. Lionel Curtis, I think you will be driven to the conclusion that these are in fact the only two alternatives which in the long run lie before us. The method of co-operation may work well for many years to come if everybody is extraordinarily well informed, public spirited and reasonable. But sooner or later, as all history shows, it is certain to break down. And when it does break down we shall be faced with the alternatives of the federation or disruption with no *via media* between.

When that time comes, needless to say, I believe that we ought to choose the road of federation and not the road of disruption. I say this because I believe that the preservation of the unity of the British Commonwealth is the greatest single political service which we can render to the cause of peace, to our fellow-citizens and to mankind. But let no one suppose it is going to be an easy business. Like most other things which are really worth while, it will be accomplished only at the price of much effort and sacrifice. Take one aspect of the case alone. Imperial federation involves in practice the root and branch reconstruction of the Parliament at Westminster, as we now know it. That Parliament will be replaced by two Parliaments, one dealing with the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom, the other dealing with the common affairs of the Imperial Commonwealth. The House of Commons may not be very popular at this moment, but deep down in all of us is a deep respect for that institution which has been the model Parliament of the world. It will be with many a pang that

we shall see the mother of Parliaments, not destroyed indeed but rather revitalised and better fitted to discharge the responsibilities which rest upon it, but none the less so transformed in appearance that it will bear but a slight resemblance to the ancient body we have revered so long.

I am afraid that I have touched to-day but very lightly even on the most important aspects of modern Imperial problems. There are many other matters of vital importance which I have not even mentioned, but I hope that what I have said will make my audience realise, more clearly perhaps than they have done before, what is the use and purpose of the British Commonwealth in the world, and how important it is to begin to give serious thought to the problems connected with its constitution and its system of government which are now manifestly coming up for solution. In any case I trust that you will feel that the Empire is not something in itself essentially evil but essentially good, not to be apologised for but to be proud of, not to be pulled down, but to be built up and improved and perfected so that it may fulfil its function in the world even better in the future than it has in the past. I should be the first to admit its defects and its lapses. I should be the first to admit that there can be no healthy Commonwealth unless there are healthy human beings with proper homes and proper opportunities of life within it. But I would contend also that social reform must go hand in hand with Imperial reform, and that if we are to build a better world in these islands, if we are to live up to the example of those

who have died for the cause of freedom in this war, we must see to it that we leave that great fabric which maintains the reign of law among a quarter of the human race, a nobler, a freer, and a juster commonwealth than we found it.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF MEN AFTER THE WAR

BY ERNEST BARKER

"Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

The Watchman said: *"The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye."*

IN the night in which, for the last two years, we have been living, it is a natural thing that we should dream of the morning, and that we should send our thoughts flying ahead into the future to bring back some message or prophecy, some hope or some warning, for the guidance of our steps when the day at last dawns. It is natural, too, that our dreams should sometimes be roseate; but we know in our hearts that the dawn will be gray and troubled, and we know, too, that we can only guess the possibilities of the day from what we know of the actualities of the night. Night will lead on the day; and the war will bring us a peace of which the nature and character will be conditioned, and in large measure determined, by the forces, material and spiritual, evoked in the course of the struggle. If, therefore we seek to inquire into the nature of the social relations which peace will tend to bring, or which we shall attempt to create for ourselves when peace arrives, we must begin by looking at the material facts and the spiritual conditions among which we are stand-

ing to-day, and by which we are likely still to be encompassed when we seek to begin our normal life once more.

Already we have gone through a shattering revolution. A new national army has been created, into which several millions of men have been drawn ; and innumerable social consequences are already following its creation, as they will continue to follow its maintenance, in whatever form it may be hereafter maintained. Our industrial system has been recast ; our workers have passed, in numbers which the layman can only guess, from the industry of peace to the industry of war ; and in the passage they have shed the old rules of labour, and have submitted themselves, at the bidding of the State, to new conditions and a new control. Behind the creation of the national army, and behind the recasting of our industrial system—author of both, and controller of both—stands the sovereign State, which has suddenly emerged, in a new guise, armed and panoplied, and has called on its members to “ fall in ” at attention in their places, ready for the service which it may assign. In such a revolution, so inaugurated and controlled, a new tone and temper of the human spirit have necessarily been evoked. The critical and even defiant attitude towards the State, with which we have been familiar since the new century began—now in the form of passive resistance, now in the shape of “ militant ” agitation, and now again in the guise of threatened rebellion—all this, at any rate for the moment, is gone ; and under the stress of war men have found themselves in a new frame of mind towards the State, and therefore—at any rate for the

time being—in new relations to one another. They have realised that they are partners in a Commonwealth, which is the compendium, and the guardian, of all the ideals of life which they treasure ; and with this realisation of partnership there has also come a sense of solidarity, and a feeling that none can stand—rich or poor, capitalist or labourer—if England, who is above both and includes both, should fall. All this may pass away as the war ends ; and indeed there is grave reason for fearing that the economic stress and strain of returning peace will make gaps and fissures, broader perhaps than any before, in the wall of our unity. Meanwhile, however, there is a sense of political unity in our midst, which we must not forget when we seek to make any augury about the future. For there will be a feeling, when the war is over, that we who have once stood together must stand together still, whatever the disruptive forces which may be at work ; that we, who have for a time realised our partnership in the body politic, must continue that partnership permanently in a body economic, of which Capital and Labour, no longer at grips with one another, shall be joint partners and common members. This will be a new thing, but one of the elements in the tone and temper of the nation after the war will be a disposition towards new things, and one of the strongest spiritual forces will be a readiness for experiment and novelty. War is in itself the strongest and most terrible of innovators, which wrenches all men with a sudden violence into new callings and strange occupations ; and the legacy which it leaves, if in part a legacy of lassitude

and desire for rest, is also, and still more, a legacy of restlessness and desire for change. Nations count new epochs from great wars ; and men will feel that the great war of this century has brought a new epoch, in which all things must necessarily be refashioned. Expectation will run high ; experiment and innovation will go far. Disillusionment may await us in many directions ; but we shall be traitors to a great opportunity if we do not take our courage in our hands, and ceasing to hug familiar shores, set our sails towards a strange, but, in the providence of God, a nobler and a brighter future.

If we attempt, from this observation and horoscope of the signs of the times, to discover the influence which they may exercise on the social relations of the future, there are three directions in which we may direct our gaze. We may look, first of all, at the relations likely to be established between men of different countries. We may look, in the next place, at the social relations which may develop in the future between men of different classes in our own country. Lastly, we may consider the relations and connections, in the sphere of private and domestic life, which may knit together, in days to come, the men and women, and the parents and children, of a new and (it may be) different epoch.

I

The social habit of Englishmen in the past, in their relations with men of other countries, has been largely a mixture of insularity and cosmopolitanism. The element of insularity has always been conspicuous.

Englishmen might travel on the Continent, but they seldom spoke its languages, and they did not greatly share in its philosophies. They had their own social code and way of life, and these were peculiar to themselves. They were remote from the military system of the Continent, and from the social effects which that system tends to produce ; they stood apart, in virtue of their peculiar law, from its legal development ; and their economic life, with its predominantly industrial complexion, differentiated them from those Continental countries in which agriculture and rural habits still remained an essential factor in the national spirit. On the other hand, an element of cosmopolitanism has never been lacking in the spirit of our country. It has been one of our traditions that we freely admitted men of other countries to settle and trade in our midst ; it has been our boast that our shores were open to the exile, and our soil was an asylum to the oppressed. Our policy of Free Trade corroborated this cosmopolitan tendency. Our economic belief was a belief in the development by each country of its peculiar talent, and in free exchange between all countries of their peculiar products. It was a belief which postulated, as its political background, something of an international system or comity of States ; and thus, however insular and self-centred we might be, we always held, if for no other reason than that we thought it an axiom of sound business, something of a cosmopolitan conception of the proper system of relations between men of different countries.

This amalgam of insularity and cosmopolitanism is

likely to be altered after the war, and a new amalgam may arise in which the old ingredients are somewhat changed. In some respects the element of insularity is likely to win new ground. It is difficult not to expect a tendency towards social ostracism of our present enemies, at any rate for some time to come. It is true that the rancours engendered by the war, and especially by the German conduct of the war, are likely to evaporate in peace ; and it also is true that it would be evil-doing to carry our enmities forward into the days of peace, and deliberately to continue lines of action which owed their beginnings to the passions or necessities of war. But none the less men are likely to revolt against the German theory and practice of what may be called " the double citizenship," whereby a German, even when naturalised in another country, continues to owe allegiance, and apparently a superior allegiance, to his own country. We may perhaps expect a modification of our laws relating to aliens ; we may certainly expect an interruption, or at any rate a hardening, of social relations and connections. There is likely to be less intermarriage ; there is likely to be less of business connection ; there is likely to be less learned intercourse, and English scholars may cease to look to Germany for light and leading as much as they have been accustomed to do in the past. This tendency may run still further, and it may go to encourage something of a new social or economic philosophy. The idea of national self-sufficiency may tend to flourish after the war. We may refuse to depend on Germany, or perhaps on any country, for the supply of any staple commodity ; and we may

come to demand a complete and rounded national economy of our own, which shall produce all our national requisites. Such a policy will be an unconscious homage to Germany, who has been the chief apostle of the doctrine of self-sufficiency ; but even if it be homage to the enemy, it is perhaps none the less likely to find favour for years to come.

In themselves, and by themselves, these tendencies would have their perils. They might confirm us in insularity and corroborate us in self-complacency. But other tendencies, making in the opposite direction, are likely to be also active, and to draw us more than ever before into the general life of Europe. If we shall be impelled to close our ranks against Germany, we shall also be impelled to join hands with France in the West and Russia in the East. We may come to shed, as indeed we have been beginning to do for some years past, our exclusive Anglo-Saxondom. We may realise that we are—what our very language and much of our older literature shows—close kinsmen of the Romance peoples of the West ; and this may affect the spirit of our literature and the lines of our system of education. The Englishman—and the Englishwoman—of the sixteenth century was versed in the language and the thoughts of France and of Italy ; and it is possible that the Englishman and Englishwoman of the twentieth century may recapture the old heritage. Our contact with the Slavs of Eastern Europe will be new, and it is more difficult to guess its results. Many English Churchmen, ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century, have been pro-

foundly interested in the Russian Church ; and it is possible that new connections may be established in the future with the religious life of Russia which will exercise large and unforeseen effects. Russian literature, and Russian music, with their unique and individual inspiration, are already known to us ; but closer intercourse may bring a deeper and more intimate knowledge, and that deeper and more intimate knowledge may lead in turn to closer intercourse and the knitting of closer social relations. Language is the great barrier ; but there are many signs that the study of Russian will find a new place in our universities and general culture, and that the one obstacle to closer relations with the life of Russia will tend to disappear.

Of late years, ever since the end of the South African War, we have been drawn closer to the political system of the Continent. The war has made manifest, what that approximation already indicated, that we belong to that system, and that we cannot deny our relations, or escape from the demands which they involve. These are political facts ; but they involve their social consequences. We shall not, in the future, cease to look across the seas to our brothers in the Dominions. On the contrary, we trust that the ties of blood which unite us to the Dominions will be drawn closer ; and we hope that a single Commonwealth will be founded to guide our common policy and to direct our common relations towards other Powers. But while we draw still closer to the Dominions, we may also draw still closer to the life of the Continent, and we may bring into relations of amity with its great Powers not Great

Britain only, but the whole of the British Commonwealth. And herein lies hope and consolation for the future. For a British Commonwealth standing alone may guarantee peace within its own far-flung borders ; but a British Commonwealth which belongs to a common system of Europe may help to guarantee the peace of all the world.

II

But of all the problems of the future the one which touches most of us most closely is that which concerns the social relations of men of different classes. A tradition of our English life, which runs back for many centuries, is that with us there is no doctrine or practice of *sangre azul*. The younger sons of our peers are all commoners : there has never been any legal distinction between noble and non-noble blood ; and even the social distinction between them is one which, never greatly emphasised, has come to be emphasised less with the passage of the years. On the other hand another distinction, based not on descent but on degree of economic power, has more and more shown itself, and been more and more felt. The idea of a class-war between those who are the owners of economic power, and those who are its servants, has gained a large following. Syndicalism—a doctrine in which this idea has found its most recent manifestation—has sought to give a still sharper edge to the division of classes. Syndicalist writers have preached the uniqueness of working-class consciousness, and the need of preserving that unique consciousness uncon-

taminated by "bourgeois" standards and culture. They have sought to substitute occupationalism for patriotism, and to teach the workers that true loyalty consists in standing shoulder to shoulder with fellow-workers in the interest of a craft, rather than in standing shoulder to shoulder with fellow-citizens in the interest of that abstract thing, largely of capitalistic invention, which goes by the name of "the State."

During the war such preaching and teaching have slept. The State, proving itself no abstract thing, has called to us; and though its call was a call to death, the call has been obeyed. A great national army has been formed, which has fused all occupations in a common service. Solicitors and schoolmasters have stood in the ranks with plumbers and gardeners: the inferior in civil life has found himself in military life the superior of his old superior. A new hierarchy has replaced the old economic hierarchy. The grading of the new hierarchy is not the grading of the old; and the values set on men in the one system differ from the values set on men in the other. In the new system men learn to obey men who in worldly goods, or in intellectual training, are poorer than they are themselves; and they not only learn to obey, but also to admire. A level head, a tact for handling men, and a ready promptitude of will—these are the things that count; and they are things that may be found both high and low. It is indeed true enough that relics of the old system survive in the new. The granting of commissions—less perhaps of late than in the earlier days of the war—followed, to some extent, the old

standards, and those who were blessed in the old dispensation still kept some prerogatives in the new. But it is also true, none the less, that a new grading, according to different standards, and from a point of view determined by different purposes, has definitely, if only at present temporarily, appeared in our midst. It has already cut across our old grading, and if it lasts it may cut across it still more deeply. Nor is this all. With the new grading there goes a new spirit and tenor of life. Rhythm and discipline, co-operation and equality, are the qualities of this new spirit. They are qualities not without their defects; and of the last of them—equality—it may seem a paradox to speak at all. And yet we all know that, at the long last, it is the private who counts; and we know that non-commissioned officers are very far from unimportant or unconsidered links in any military unit. These are things which we do not know, or at any rate do not say, about industrial organisation. Here, on the contrary, we have (or we seem to have, and we talk as if we had), struggle in place of rhythm, competition in place of co-operation, and inequality in place of equality. There are qualities in industrial defects, and there are defects in military qualities. There is (or at any rate there is room for) a rich individualism in the hurly-burly of the economic world; and on the other hand the rhythm and discipline of the military world may have its counterpart in the monotony and pedantry of brass buttons and pipe-clay. Minds may grow heavy, and eyes wax dull, in a monotony which can be worse than industrial monotony, because it is

a whole-time monotony, and not only the part-time monotony of the working hours. And there are graver possibilities. An army, after all, is ultimately based on fist-right. It is an organisation for the settlement of differences by the arbitrament of force. If it should imbue working men with the basic principle of its own organisation, what is likely to be the spirit in which they will face the settlement of industrial differences after the war? It may be urged—indeed, I have heard it urged—that men who have seen men die, and whose dread business it has been to inflict death themselves, may import new and terrible possibilities into the industrial conflicts which we may expect to agitate future years.

This is a warning against any idealisation of the conditions likely to prevail after the war. If it seems unduly lurid—and I believe that it is so—it has nevertheless its value as such a warning. We must not expect any ease, or any folding of the arms, after the conclusion of war. The winning of a sound peace may well be more arduous than the winning of war. Our soldiers may come back to civil occupation with a new rhythm and discipline of life, which may affect them and all the rest of us, in the goings and doings of the future. They may also come back—or some at any rate may come back—with hearts indurated to the dire arbitrament of force; and the storm-centres of our industrial life may be still stormier. Again they may come back as a band of brothers, forgetting class-distinctions themselves, and teaching the rest of us to forget class-distinctions also. Or—

for this too is a possibility—they may come back with an acuter sense of distinctions which they have for a time escaped, and which they will be more reluctant than ever to acknowledge. And meanwhile the conditions in which they, and all of us, will find ourselves immersed after the war are likely to be such as crave wary handling. War is a fever and a sickness of the body politic ; but the ending of war, and the return of peace, is not the return of health. Between sickness and health there intervenes convalescence ; and between a condition of war and a condition of peace there intervenes a period of reconstruction and readjustment. The fever of war, like the fever of illness, may be accompanied by a curious exhilaration. That exhilaration will have died, and the steady glow and vigorous pulse of health will not yet have returned, in the interim days through which we shall have to make our way as best we can. Those days will bring many trials to our patience and our statesmanship. Taxes will continue to lie heavy on our shoulders. The interest on the national loans will have to be paid : part of these loans will have to be repaid : the charge of pensions will add to the outlay. The upper and middle classes will cry for some remission of their burden. Schemes for social reform, such as the general institution of a minimum wage, may be opposed, however short-sightedly, on the ground that they threaten an immediate increase of expenditure ; and it may even be that such social reforms as have been already achieved during the last few years will be challenged on the score of their cost. On the other

hand the working classes will have claims to urge on their side. They have tasted a new standard of comfort ; and we may be sure that they will seek to prevent, by what means they can, a reduction of that standard. The incessant tug-of-war between profits and wages is certain not to relax its tension under such circumstances. And there will be another point on which opinions may differ. A labour-custom, for the regulation of the workers' effort—a labour-custom intended partly to protect the weaker worker from being forced to work at the pace of the stronger, and partly to secure to the men of each department a monopoly of its peculiar process or function—such a custom, on the eve of the war, had been generally evolved, and was generally accepted in the world of industry. The stress of war has led the workers, for the time being, to surrender this custom. The increase of production which has followed that surrender has been enormous. At the end of the war there may be a movement on the one hand to maintain the *status quo durante bello*, and on the other hand to return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The one side may urge that the old limitation of effort, in the days before the war, meant under-production : the other side may urge that the disappearance of that limitation, during the years of war, meant over-speeding. The problem of workshop control, and of workshop rules of labour, will be not the least of the problems which we shall have to face, if we are to settle social relations after the war on anything of an amicable and satisfactory footing.

It is for the economist to deal with these problems, and to suggest the possible lines of their solution. What the economist may have to say of the problem of wages is a matter which lies beyond our scope. But the problem of workshop control touches our subject more closely. I have heard speakers plead for the democratisation of the workshop and the application of the prefect system of our public schools to industry. Let the workers in each department of any works, they urge, be conceded some measure of autonomy; let them have overseers or foremen in whose selection they have themselves a voice; let them have a say of their own about their hours of starting, and their hours for meals, and the general conditions of their day's work. If such a system be possible, there is perhaps nothing that could ease the relations of master and men more than would its adoption. The real human grievance of the worker is not only, and perhaps not so much, inadequate wages: it is the sense of being "driven," and of working under a taskmaster's eye. If we could, consistently with good economic management, remove this sense and abolish this grievance; if we could create in the workshop a spirit of self-control and self-government, we should have gone a long way to secure a better system of social relations in the world of industry. There would be more of a feeling of co-operation, because there would be more of a feeling of equality; and these two things, which, as we have argued, have been produced, at least in some measure, by war, would still survive in peace. But there are other things also which

are necessary, if equality is to survive ; and surely we must all desire that it should. One of these is a reduction of their standard of living by the richer classes. I still remember reflecting, on the evening of the first day of the war, and deriving some comfort from the reflection, that this, after all, might be one of the results of the catastrophe which had come. War, during its course, has necessarily simplified the manner of life of the richer classes. The pressure of taxation, and the necessity of saving in order to aid the conduct of the war, have been automatic forces ; and the sense of shame at any display of extravagance *patriai tempore iniquo* has been an additional and voluntary motive. The pressure of taxation will persist after the war ; but persistence in a voluntary simplicity is also a thing earnestly to be desired. It will not be an easy thing. One of the first instincts which we shall probably feel on the return of peace will be an instinct for enjoyment. We shall have held ourselves in check for many months, and we shall have, as it were, a large deferred demand for travel, for entertainment, and for social pleasures. It will be hard to fight against instinct ; but for the sake of the brethren, and indeed for ourselves, it will be probably wise. If only, for instance, we have less done for us by others in our houses, and do more for ourselves, it will help to give us a new independence of spirit, and to liberate us from our besetting English vice of snobbishness ; and not only so, but it will give us a new kinship with those who do, and have to do, everything for themselves.

But the one way of kinship and of equality which outweighs all others is kinship of the spirit, and the equality which comes from a community of education. To share ideas with a man—this is kinship ; and to stand on the same intellectual level with one's fellows—this is equality. Fraternity and equality—yes, and liberty too—these are the gifts of a common scheme and a common substance of knowledge. Knowledge of truth shall make you free ; to see truth together shall make you brothers ; to be equal in the kingdom of the mind shall make you peers indeed. This is a very simple truism, which you must forgive my repeating. But I am a teacher ; and the one method of socialism about which I care is the socialisation of education. The one really grievous inequality is not so much inequality of worldly goods, but its resultant—which should not, and need not, be its resultant—inequality of the riches of the spirit. The one kingdom, apart from His Kingdom (and after all it is part of His Kingdom) whereof we are all heirs, but into whose inheritance we have not all entered, is the kingdom of mind, with all its accumulated treasures of science and philosophy and history. This war has taught us, so we are told, that we are sadly to seek in the domain of scientific education. Shall we not also admit, when peace comes, or even, perhaps, earlier, that we are also sadly to seek in all manner of education ? It is not so much that what we teach is bad : it is rather that those who are taught are so few. Our nation is necessarily divided against itself, and its classes are necessarily separated from one another, when we make so little use of the common medium of

sympathy and understanding. No attempt at reconstruction can bring unity, or really ease and lubricate the social relations of men of different classes, unless it involves, first and foremost, a general extension of secondary education, and unless, to that end and for that purpose, boys and girls are retained in school until they have reached maturer years, and until they have gained that knowledge, and that outlook, which should be the necessary passport of every citizen and the open sesame to every profession. And beyond the school lies the university ; and here too there will be much to be done, at any rate in the older universities, both in the way of reduction of expenditure, and in the abolition of artificial intellectual requirements, and in many other ways. For the university, at its best, can be the greatest of all levellers ; but it can also, when artificial barriers are interposed, become a servant and a stay of class distinctions.

In this whole matter of the social relations of classes likely to be established after the war a great deal will obviously depend on the State. During the war the State has taken to itself province on province. It has become, to a greater extent than ever before, the director of our actions and the adjuster of our relations. We have acquiesced, even if we have grumbled ; and it is possible that we shall find, at the end of the war, that we have contracted the habit of looking to the State for the solution of all our difficulties. Many of the things which will then be demanded will be things which only the State can do. In the domain of agriculture, for instance, and in the matter of any revision

of the relations of landlord, tenant and labourer, the State is sure to be asked to say and to do many things. It will be no less invoked in the domain of industry, whether to institute a system of minimum wages, or to inaugurate a general scheme of profit-sharing, or even to nationalise altogether great staple industries. Education is obviously its concern ; and thus in all these things, and probably in many others, we may expect men to desire, and the State to undertake, new ways of State-interference. This will affect our relation to one another very vitally. Hitherto we have gone on the assumption that those relations were primarily a matter of individual and voluntary adjustment. Free competition, free contract, and free self-adjustment have been our cardinal ideas, though for many years past they have been gradually yielding ground. In the old England, German thinkers were apt to say, there was no State : there was only society. We had little idea, they meant, of a commonweal : we had little idea of ourselves as having a station to fill, and a function to discharge, in the Commonwealth ; we had little idea of our relations to one another as properly dependent upon, and properly regulated by, the purpose of the commonweal and the needs of the Commonwealth. Our dominant idea was rather that of a loose society of free units, in which each unit adjusted itself at will to the rest—or, at best, voluntary associations attempted, each in its own way, and each uncoordinated with the rest, to realise some common but partial purpose. There is likely, perhaps, to be much more community, and much more common control, in the

system of relations which will be gradually established after the war. Many may dislike the change, and say *Germania capta victores cepit*—that in fighting Prussianism we have Prussianized ourselves. They will hardly be right. There will be a welter after the war ; and that welter will become chaos, if organising thought—the organising thought of the whole community, which is the true and real state—is not applied to its ordering. And if it is so applied, the system of our social relations will be vitally altered, probably in form, and certainly in spirit ; for it will no longer depend on individual adjustment, dictated by individual interest or individual benevolence, but on a common adjustment made by a common will in the light of a common interest. A single instance may illustrate the point. If a scheme of profit-sharing were started, in which the two partners were on the one hand the masters of a given industry, and on the other its organised Trades Union ; if, as would be necessary to such a scheme, all the workers of the industry were included in that Union ; and if again, as would also be necessary, all this were enforced by the State, it is obvious that a very new thing would have come to pass. An individual adjustment effected by a tussle between a voluntary association of some, but not all, of the workers and some, but not necessarily all, of the masters would have been replaced by a common adjustment made by the public authority, and made on a universal scale. And that would mean that we should have revised and altered the general scheme and charter of our life.

III

Last of all—most intimate of all questions, and, in many ways, gravest of all—comes the problem of the relations of men and women to one another in the months and years after peace is signed. The war has been, and still is, a time of the rending of the heart for women ; but peace too may be, for many thousands of women, a time of suffering—not indeed of sudden anguish, but rather of dull and aching pain. The industrial question, in itself, will be serious enough. Many thousands of women who have found new and often lucrative employment are likely to lose what they have found ; and if some will find less exciting and less remunerative tasks, which they will perhaps not be very ready to accept, there will be many who will sit listless with empty hands. Nor is this all. Women, who before were unoccupied, or occupied only with matters which they have now come to regard as trivialities, have discovered a function and taken a station in the community. Rest has come to the restlessness which sprang from baulked ability ; and in nursing the wounded, tending the convalescent, and other gracious ways of service and ministration, women have gained a new zest and energy of life. They will have to return, in days to come, to the common round which has no daily task ; and though, like the man who has retired from his life's work, they may rejoice for the moment in their release, they may also, in a while, begin to chafe at the absence of occupation and the gnawing sense that they are no longer needed. On the other hand there is hope that the service of women will still be

needed, and that occupation will still be found for their hands. The war has given us all a chance of showing the stuff of which we are made : and it would be safe to say that there is good reason for pride in the eagerness and the success with which women have grasped their chance. That feeling of pride will have its social results ; and women who have been sealed and, if it be not too bold a word, consecrated as fellow-workers of man in the cause of war will come to be recognised as fellow-workers in the cause of peace, with a common access to learning and education, and a common right to hold a station and discharge a function in the service of the community.

But there are other sides of the relations between men and women which will need adjustment after the war. In the last two years some five millions or more of men—fathers, husbands, sons and brothers—have gone from home and kindred into a new world. They have left their moorings : they have left the old channels of experience which they shared with the womenkind ; and their souls have been dipped in things new and strange. Meanwhile the old world, the old moorings, the old channels of experience, have been left to women to preserve ; and mothers and wives, daughters and sisters, have stayed round the old hearths, in the old ways. How will the old and the new mix and blend when the war is over, and in what way will the old life of the family be knit together again ? It will be a matter involving patience, effort, and it may be pain. Women may perhaps have looked forward with hope unalloyed to the happy day of the great return, when

men shall unshoulder their burden, and come home again, home again, to their own hearths. But it is probable that men will not come back as they went out. Many may return shattered in body or in nerves. From a life of hot action they may come to inaction, and they may mope and fret. This may be a grievous time for many women. Many of us, and women above all, can rise to the need of a crisis of sickness ; it is convalescence that drags. The long slow time of recovery, with its fretfulness and sudden gusts of temper, is a heavy tax on patient and nurse ; and—to speak not so much literally as in a metaphor—it is, as we have said, a period of convalescence which will have to be faced after the war. This may involve a good deal of change from old habits. Women may have to think less of social life and the social round—though there may well be an instinct to rush back to a gaiety so long suppressed and buried ; and their thoughts will perhaps have to turn more towards the inmost sanctuary of their homes, and to the need of reconstruction, by slow and patient effort, of its sanctities and intimacies. And here there enters another matter, of which one can only speak tentatively, but of which it is perhaps proper that those who are left behind should be thinking. Again and again the men who are gone have been lifted, in the dread ordeal and furnace of war, to a new height and a new insight. They have gone into the inner mysteries of life and death, where the Lord is visible ; and their eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts. I have seen letters, written on the eve of action by young men who fell in the next

day's battle, for which one could only thank God, Who had come so near to them, and drawn them so near to Himself. There are some, and we pray earnestly that there will be many, who will not fall, but will come back to us ; and they will bring—so we pray—the vision they have seen. Will they find us tuned and strung to their vision, able to rise with them and to stay with them upon the height they have attained ? It is a golden chance, and it is a chance which is given to women above all others. If their eyes too are opened, the vision may become a permanent reality. If they are not, it may fade and disappear. To many women, one may be sure—to those who have worked in hospitals and seen suffering men turning to Him, the ineffable Name ; to those who, in the night-watches, have committed their nearest and dearest to His most gracious keeping—the vision has been near as it has been to those who have stood for days and months on the border line of life and death. May it come to more and more ; and so may those who are coming back to us from the new world of their experience be fitly joined and knit together with us who have stayed behind in the old, through a common substance of the spirit.

At all costs it is necessary that we should avoid one thing into which we had fallen too much before the war—and that is a spirit of misunderstanding, and even of antagonism, between men and women. In this matter the war has brought a great and sudden change. If, before it came, a sort of nervous barrier seemed to be growing between men and women, and a sense of strain too often made their relations uneasy,

the coming of war brought instantly a new atmosphere. It was natural that women should, in the mass, feel a new respect for husbands and brothers who went out on the great adventure ; and it was natural, if somewhat sad, that that respect should sometimes run into something of an idolatry of the soldier's uniform. Peace will bring a change, but it must not bring us back to where we stood before. The only safeguard against such reaction is likely to be a policy of mutual give and take. Women must recognise—and they will probably be ready to recognise, for it is a very drastic lesson of the war—that men's monopoly of political right had for its corollary something like a monopoly of political duty, at any rate in one very vital matter ; and they must face the problem by which so many of them were agitated in the light of this recognition. Men on their side must recognise—and they would be very far from chivalrous if they did not recognise, for this again is a very patent lesson of the war—that the service of the community is a matter for women as well as for men, and that all who serve the Commonwealth are partners and members of its life. We cannot settle a matter which has two sides from the premisses of one side, however irrefragable, in its abstraction, a logic based on such premisses may be ; and we shall do well to remember that if compromise is the surrender of abstract logic, abstract logic, in the domain of things practical, is the surrender of success.

But it is the life of the family, and the relations between men and women in the family, which touches

far more of us far more closely than our relations to one another within the community at large. Family life has necessarily been relaxed, and often almost disintegrated, by the war. Fathers have disappeared. Young girls of fifteen or sixteen have emerged early from the chrysalis, and flying abroad, into what they took to be sunshine, have sometimes dragged their young wings. Nor has all been always well with the wives of those who have gone. A new freedom and vacancy from household occupation ; a new afflux of moneys not so definitely allocated in advance, as they were of old, to necessary expenditure—these things are novelties, as they are temptations, which not all have had, or well could have had, the ballast and self-control to handle with a sober discretion. There is no need to throw stones—too few among us are without blame—or to judge with too censorious a rigour what is human and all too human. We generally run a straight course because we are running in a known and worn groove, whose slope and inclinations of themselves are sufficient to keep us straight. Much of our right-doing is done, as it were, in blinkers ; and if they are removed and we have to make our own way, we must necessarily stray and stumble to some extent. But just for that reason it is true that a habit and discipline of life are a necessary condition of goodness ; and of all ways of habit and discipline the most fundamental, for most men and women, are those of the family. The reintegration of the family, the reinvigoration of its discipline, the reconsecration of its sanctities—this is one of the tasks, and one of the greatest of

all the tasks, which await us after the war. One may hope, perhaps, that fathers who have come to see something of the value and the dignity of discipline and rhythm during their period of service, and have learned how to obey and how to command, will bring back to their homes, not, indeed, any militarism, or pedantry of drill, but something at any rate of order and its graces. But however that may be, there will be thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of men who will have to join in renewing and recreating the life of the family. Drawn by war from their old centres, and made by war units in a vast and purely masculine organisation, they will turn to the homes from which they came, and to the functions which they discharged as members of its economy. Out of fever and strain, exhilaration and agony, they, and those whom they left behind, will come together again in the old life, which yet (one hopes) will also be a new life. Old quiet duties will have to be resumed ; old fellowships and understandings will have to be reknit ; and, for the quieting and sustentation of our souls, the old inner life of the family will have to be rekindled.

For upon all fathers and mothers there will lie a new burden and a fresh responsibility. The spring has been taken out of our year. Gallant and golden lads lie fallen : the flowers of the forest are all weeded away. When the war is ended we shall know the manner of the gulf that has been created in our society. There will be a gap between the younger generation under twenty, and the older

generation over forty. Many indeed will be left, but many will be gone ; and among them there will be many of our best, for Ares, "destroyer of men," so far as he discriminates, discriminates against the best and strongest. The gap between the generations will be a serious matter. Will the young and the old folk understand one another, when their connecting link is gone ? It is a question one asks oneself in an Oxford college, when one thinks of the young tutors, gone from our walls for ever, who were young enough to understand the young, and mature enough to sympathise with their elders. It is a question one may also ask oneself about the nation at large. One thing is clear. Great, as we have said, is the burden, and stern the responsibility, which is laid upon the older generation. We have to do our duty, as gallantly and as lovingly as in us lies, by the young generation, of whom so many will be called, in earlier years than they would otherwise have been called, to those posts of honour and of duty which those who are dead would have filled, if they had not gone, at the trumpet's call, to other posts—posts of honour and of duty, but also posts of death. We must train the new generation for its great calling : we must see that the gulf is filled worthily. In our families and our schools there lies abundant work for our hands for many years to come. They will be not the least servants of the community, in those years, who, remembering that children are a gift of the Lord, and a very precious trust, shall in their degree, as fathers and mothers, or pastors and masters, seek to train them in the fear and love of God, and in

the service and to the glory of their country. For this is not a time either for shirking parental responsibility, or for avoiding, in the pursuit of more pleasant things, the supposed "humdrum" life of the teacher. On these things depends the future of our nation ; and in undertaking these things those who have ability and vocation will show the finest stuff of their patriotism.

IV

Of the temper in which we shall face all these things, and the order and spirit in which we shall deal with them, any guess is difficult. There will be many great things waiting to be done ; and men will be turning to the State, with expectant eyes, for their doing. I have, indeed, heard economists say that the State will be discredited after the war. The State, they say, is an unlucrative and unremunerative institution, which has not paid its members any dividend worth the mention for the taxes it has taken and the destruction it has wrought. That, as I have said, is not the way in which I should read the signs of the times. Men have found during the war, somewhat to their astonishment, how much could be done by the State, and with how little dislocation it could be done. They are likely, perhaps, to defer too much to the State, and to expect too much from the State, after the war ; and they may be inclined to forget the responsibility which will lie on individuals, and on families, and on voluntary and social organisations, for the creation of a new world. Men are likely, again, at any rate for

some time to come, to feel a much greater sense of unity with one another. Along with a tendency to expect much from the State there will be a feeling of brotherhood; and in that feeling of brotherhood things may seem possible which before seemed visionary. Ideas of union, federation, reconciliation will be in the air. In the realm of politics, men will be thinking of a general federation of the Commonwealth; in the domain of economics, they will be thinking of reconciliation of Capital and Labour; in the sphere of religious life, they will be thinking, it may be, of union of the Churches. There will be, if it may be so called, "the feeling of the clean slate": there will be an expectation that the State will wisely inscribe new characters on the slate's surface: there will be a sense of unity, inclining us to believe that we can all agree to what it inscribes. This is a fortunate conjuncture such as comes but seldom in the revolutions of the planets. In what temper shall we use that conjuncture? Will it be bold and ardent, or will it be cautious and cold?

It may seem paradoxical to give, or even to suggest, the latter answer. Yet one reason occurs to the mind in its favour. So many of the young will be gone: so many of us who remain will be grey and cautious. We are used to attempting change and finding difficulties and obstacles: we have perhaps inured ourselves to the idea that whatever is best administered is best—however imperfect, apart from such administration, it may be. Youth demands sweeping legislative change; age is enamoured of administrative efficiency. The time is ripe for sweeping change: youth may not be

there to give ardour and momentum, and our statesmen may be cautious and change-weary. Before the war, as one listened to young men talking of their venturesome ideas of social reconstruction—ideas which in ten or twenty years' time they would have been seeking to carry into effect—one saw that change was in the air. After the war, it may be urged, everything will be ready for change except its leaders. But leaders or no leaders, change and experiment are likely to be the order of the day for a long time to come. Whether the leaders are ready or no, the community will demand change. And indeed, whether we desire it or dislike it, we shall be automatically plunged into change by the mere cessation of war. The only question is whether change shall be automatic and therefore chaotic, or whether it shall be controlled by our wills to definite purposes. Our danger will perhaps be that, under the stress of the pervading sense of novelty, and with the experimental tendency strong upon us, we should innovate rashly in the established sanctities of our national and domestic life. The day of the reformer is at hand : but it may also be the day of the crank and the visionary. New faiths, new "isms," new panaceas, may be cried and vended. In an old and conservative country like ours this will perhaps be no great matter. We shall not be greatly the worse for the presence of new ideas, however extravagant. But we have to keep our balance, and we shall be assailed from many sides. All who believe that they have sovereign remedies to offer will be clamouring for their application. The men of science

will ask for more science in education ; socialists will demand the socialisation of industry ; suffragists will see salvation in the vote ; protectionists will urge their tariffs ; and the pressure on our human powers of thought and action will be exceeding heavy. But the burden has none the less to be shouldered, and the balance kept. Strenuous days are with us now, and strenuous days lie ahead of us for years to come. We cannot say " We will have peace, and follow the ways of our fathers," for the ways of our fathers have slipped away from us, and we cannot have peace for the wishing. We have to make peace for ourselves—peace in the world of politics, and also, and no less, peace in the world of industry, where a war rages that is far older, and no less dangerous to our future, than the war in which we are engaged to-day. If this is our duty, and if we thus have to make a new world, we must do according to our duty. We must steel ourselves to think of change, and, what is far more difficult, to do the long and painful work of carrying our thoughts into effect. Knowing that nothing must be rejected without a hearing, or accepted without a reason ; recognising that much of what we attempt will fail, but trusting that more will succeed, we must think our way forward, steadily and patiently, to such a system of relations, in politics, in economics, and in social life, as our reason can accept and our conscience can approve.

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